

**ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED**

70.6

Kidd

K53d

pt.1

Documents...of the 1873918
continental reformation


STORAGE

PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT WAYNE AND ALLEN COUNTY, IND.

DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS FROM POCKET

570

ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

DOCUMENTS
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
CONTINENTAL REFORMATION

EDITED BY

REV. B. J. KIDD, D.D.

KEBLE COLLEGE; TUTOR OF NON-COLLEGIATE STUDENTS, LECTURER OF
PEMBROKE COLLEGE, AND VICAR OF ST. PAUL'S, OXFORD

pt. 1

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M CM XI

1873918

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE
OF THE
CONTINENTAL REFORMATION

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK
TORONTO AND MELBOURNE

PREFATORY NOTE

IN 1890 it fell to my lot to lecture, for the Delegates of Non-Collegiate Students, in the Faculty of Theology, on the English Reformation. In 1892, Dr. Bright, then Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, honoured me with a request to lecture for him on the Continental Reformation. Both these subjects were at that time recognized as Ordinary Subjects for the Honour School of Theology. But they were apt to receive unequal attention. The sources of the English Reformation were made accessible in 1896 in Gee & Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History*: but there was no similar collection available for the study of the Continental Reformation. In 1897, I asked the Board of the Faculty of Theology to consider the preparation of such a volume; and they were good enough not only to suggest that I should undertake it, but also to commend the proposal, with all the weight of their authority, to the Delegates of the University Press. The Delegates consented: and hence this attempt. One of their number, Dr. Stubbs, then Bishop of Oxford, made the important suggestion that the collection 'should include some Scottish documents'.

I trust that the attempt to render the sources of the Continental Reformation accessible to English readers

will be welcome to a wider audience than the lecturer and the class for whom the volume was originally intended. We have been advised, of late, not to ignore our differences, but to study them. To do this, we must study not origins only, but developments. Origins are common ground. Developments mark the points of divergence. Such developments it has been also part of my object to trace; not so much for their own sake, as because they have become origins in their turn.

I have to thank the Dean of Canterbury for permission to print Nos. 35 and 97 from his edition of *Luther's Primary Works*, and No. 107 from his essay in *Church and Faith* (1890); Rev. T. B. Willson for the translation of No. 131; Miss Norah Leeson for that of No. 117; and my friend, Rev. F. E. Brightman, Fellow of Magdalen College, for reading my proofs. But I am under special obligations to the Delegates of the Press for procuring me the keen but kindly criticism of Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher, formerly Fellow of All Souls and Magdalen Colleges, and of Mr. P. S. Allen, Fellow of Merton College.

B. J. KIDD.

OXFORD: EASTER 1911.

CONTENTS

PART I. LUTHERAN

	PAGE
I. DEFINITION OF THE TREASURY OF MERITS	
1. The Bull <i>Unigenitus</i> of Clement VI. 27 Jan. 1343 .	1
II. THE FIRST APPLICATION OF INDULGENCES TO SOULS IN PURGATORY	
2. The Bull <i>Salvator noster</i> of Sixtus IV. 3 Aug. 1476 .	3
III. THE INDULGENCE AS AN EXPEDIENT OF PAPAL FINANCE	
3. The Bull <i>Liquet omnibus</i> of Julius II. 11 Jan. 1510 .	5
IV. SPECIMEN GRANTS	
4. Formulae of absolution, &c. 1513-17	7
V. THE NEW LEARNING AND OBSCURANTISM	
5. The <i>Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum</i> . 1515-17 . .	11
VI. THE COMMISSION OF INDULGENCES TO ALBERT, ARCH-BISHOP OF MAINZ, 1515-17	
6. His <i>Instructio Summaria ad Sub-commissarios</i> . .	13
7. Tetzel's <i>Instructio</i> for parish priests	17
8. Tetzel's specimen sermons for parish priests . .	18
9. A contemporary description of the proceedings . .	19
10. A specimen grant by Tetzel. 5 Oct. 1517 . . .	20
VII. THE NINETY-FIVE THESES, 1517	
11. Luther's Theses. 31 Oct. 1517	21
12. Luther's letter to Albert of Mainz. 31 Oct. 1517 .	27
13. Luther's sermon on Indulgence and Grace. 31 Oct. 1517	29
VIII. THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING INDULGENCES, 1518	
14. Tetzel's disputations for B.D. and D.D. . . .	29
15. Prierias' <i>Dialogus de potestate Papae</i>	31
IX. CAJETAN, 1518	
16. Luther's account of his interview with Cajetan. 12-14 Oct. 1518	33
17. Luther's answer to Cajetan. 14 Oct. 1518 . . .	34
18. Luther's appeal to Leo X. 16 Oct. 1518	37
X. LEO X.	
19. The Bull <i>Cum postquam</i> . 9 Nov. 1518	39

	PAGE
XI. LUTHER'S REPLY	
20. His appeal to a General Council. 28 Nov. 1518	40
XII. MILTITZ, 1519	
21. Luther's account to the Elector of the agreement with Miltitz. Jan. 1519	41
22. Luther's account to Staupitz of the interview with Miltitz. 19 Jan. 1519	42
23. Luther's submission to Leo X. 3 March 1519	42
XIII. THE DISPUTATION AT LEIPZIG, 1519	
24. The thirteenth of Eck's and of Luther's. Theses. March and May 1519	46
25. The letter of George, Duke of Saxony, to the Chancellor. 17 Jan. 1519	46
26. An account by an onlooker	47
27. From the Minutes of the Disputation. 5-7 July 1519	49
XIV. THE CIRCULATION OF LUTHER'S WORKS	
28. Letter of Froben to Luther. 14 Feb. 1519.	51
XV. LUTHER'S COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS	
29. His prefatory letter. Sept. 1519.	53
XVI. ERASMUS AND LUTHER, 1519	
30. Erasmus to Leo X, on the treatment of the present troubles. 13 Aug. 1519	54
31. Erasmus to Albert of Mainz, on their origin. 1 Nov. 1519	55
XVII. LUTHER AND ULRICH VON HUTTEN, 1520	
32. <i>Vadiscus</i> or <i>Trias Romana</i> . April 1520	57
33. <i>Inspicientes</i> . April 1520	58
34. Hutten to the Elector Frederick. 11 Sept. 1520	60
XVIII. THE THREE TREATISES OF 1520	
35. 'To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.' Aug. 1520	63
36. <i>De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium</i> . Oct. 1520	66
37. Letter to Leo X. 13 Oct. 1520	73
XIX. THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF LUTHER, 1520	
38. The Bull <i>Exsurge, Domine</i> . 15 June 1520.	75
XX. THE DIET OF WORMS, 1521	
39. Aleander's Instructions	80
40. Aleander's first impressions of Charles V. 29 Sept. 1521.	81
41. Aleander on the anti-papal sentiment of Germany. 8 Feb. 1521	82

	PAGE
42. Luther's answer before Emperor and Diet. 18 April 1521.	82
43. The Emperor's declaration of policy. 19 April 1521.	85
44. The Alliance between the Pope and the Emperor. 8 May 1521.	86
45. The Edict of Worms. 26 May 1521.	87
46. German feeling in favour of Luther.	89
XXI. MELANCHTHON	
47. The <i>Loci Communes</i> . Dec. 1521.	90
XXII. RADICALISM AT WITTENBERG, 1521-2	
48. Correspondence between Luther and Albert of Mainz. Dec. 1521.	95
49. Opinions on the Mass and on Monastic Vows. Oct.-Dec. 1521.	96
50. Carlstadt's alterations in the Mass. Christmas 1521.	100
51. The arrival of the Zwickau prophets. 27 Dec. 1521.	100
52. Luther's reproof of Melanchthon. 13 Jan. 1522.	101
53. The Confusion at Wittenberg. Jan. 1522.	103
54. Luther on his Eight Sermons of 9-16 March. 30 March 1522.	104
55. From the Translation of the New Testament. Sept. 1522.	104
XXIII. ADRIAN VI AND THE DIET OF NURNBERG, 1522-3	
56. Alexander's advice to Adrian VI.	106
57. Chiericato and Hans von der Planitz. 8 Dec. 1522.	107
58. Brief of Adrian VI to the Diet. 25 Nov. 1522.	107
59. Chiericato's Instructions.	109
60. The reply of the Estates. 5 Feb. 1523.	110
61. The <i>Centum Gravamina</i> .	113
62. The Imperial Edict. 6 March 1523.	121
XXIV. THE NEW ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM, 1523-4	
63. Luther's notice of the substitution of weekly for daily Mass. 11 March 1523.	122
64. 'Ordinance for a common chest' at Leisnig. 1523.	122
65. Luther's <i>De instituendis ministris</i> . Nov. 1523.	124
66. Luther's <i>Formula Missae et Communionis</i> . Dec. 1523.	127
67. The beginnings of German Hymnody. 1524.	132
XXV. THE MISSION OF CAMPEGGIO, 1523-4	
68. His entry into Nürnberg. 16 March 1524.	134
69. The Recess of the Diet of Nürnberg. 18 April 1524.	135
70. The Remonstrance, and the Reply of Campeggio.	137
71. The remedies desired by the Court of Rome.	139
72. The Emperor's instructions to his Ambassador at Rome. 18 July 1524.	140
73. The League of Ratisbon. 7 July 1524.	141

	PAGE
XXVI. THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM IN SWEDEN, 1523-4	
74. Correspondence of Bishop Brask. May, June 1524 .	152
75. The Disputation at Upsala. 27 Dec. 1524 .	153
XXVII. THE SPREAD OF REFORM WITHIN THE EMPIRE, 1523-5	
76. A sermon of Jo. Briessmann at Cottbus. 1523 .	165
77. The proceedings at Magdeburg. 1524 .	166
78. The proceedings at Nürnberg. Easter. 1524 .	167
79. Articles of the Bishop of Bamberg. 12 Sept. 1524 .	167
XXVIII. THE WEAKENING OF THE REFORMATION, 1524-5	
80. Letters of Luther and Erasmus. 20 June and 31 Aug. 1523 .	171
81. Letter of Erasmus to Henry VIII. 6 Sept. 1524 .	172
82. Erasmus <i>De Libero Arbitrio</i> . Sept. 1524 .	172
83. The Twelve Articles of the Peasants. March 1525 .	174
84. Melanchthon on Luther's Marriage .	179
85. Erasmus on the same .	180
86. The Treaty of Madrid. 14 Jan. 1526 .	180
XXIX. THE DIET OF SPEIER, 1526	
87. The League of Cognac. 22 May 1526 .	182
88. The Proposition, or Speech from the Throne. 25 June 1526 .	183
89. The declaration of the Cities. 4 Aug. 1526 .	183
90. The Recess of the Diet. 27 Aug. 1526 .	185
XXX. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LUTHERAN COMMUNITIES, 1526-9	
91. Mandate of the Bishop of Samland. 28 Jan. 1524 .	188
92. Reforms of the Bp. of Pomesania. 1 Jan. 1525 .	190
93. Letter of Andrew, Bishop of Premysl. 1525 .	191
94. The ducal and episcopal prefaces in Prussia. 1530 .	193
95. Luther's 'German Mass and Order of Divine Service'. Jan. 1526 .	193
96. Melanchthon's 'Instructions for the Visitors'. 22 March 1528 .	202
97. Luther's 'Short Catechism'. July 1529 .	205
98. <i>Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiæ</i> . 20 Oct. 1526 .	222
99. The Church Order of Brunswick. 1528 .	230
XXXI. THE PROGRESS OF REFORM IN SCANDINAVIA, 1527-9	
100. The Ordinance of the Diet of Odense. 1527 .	234
101. The Ordinances of the Diet of Vesterås. 1527 .	234
102. The reforms of the Synod of Örebro. 1529 .	236
XXXII. THE DIET OF SPEIER, 1529	
103. The Imperial Mandate. 30 Nov. 1528 .	240
104. The Proposition, or Speech from the Throne. 15 March 1529 .	240

CONTENTS

xi

	PAGE
105. The Resolution of the Majority. 7 April 1529 . . .	242
106. The Letter of Fürstenberg. 7 April 1529 . . .	242
107. The Resolution of the Minority. 19 April 1529 . . .	243
XXXIII. CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, 1529	
108. The Treaty of Barcelona. 29 June 1529. . .	246
109. The Conference of Marburg. 29 Sept. 1529 . . .	247
110. The Articles of Marburg, No. 15. 3 Oct. 1529 . . .	254
111. The Articles of Schwabach, No. 10. 16 Oct. 1529. . .	255
XXXIV. THE DIET OF AUGSBURG, 1530	
112. Campeggio's 'Instructions' to the Emperor. ? Jan. 1530 . . .	256
113. The Imperial Summons to the Diet. 21 Jan. 1530 . . .	257
114. The advice of Dr. Brück. March 1530 . . .	258
115. The Proposition, or Speech from the Throne. 20 June 1530 . . .	258
116. The Confession of Augsburg. 25 June 1530 . . .	259
117. The representations of the Legate. End of July 1530 . . .	289
118. Melanchthon's Concessions. 28 July 1530 . . .	293
119. The Fifth Session. 3 Aug. 1530 . . .	294
120. Eck's <i>Articulus de Missa</i> . 21 Aug. 1530 . . .	295
121. Luther's Letter from Coburg. 26 Aug. 1530 . . .	296
122. An Imperial announcement. 7 Sept. 1530 . . .	296
123. The Recess. 22 Sept. 1530 . . .	298
XXXV. THE PROTESTANTS IN ARMS	
124. The Schmalkaldic League. 27 Feb. 1531 . . .	301
XXXVI. A TRUCE	
125. The Peace of Nürnberg. 23 July 1532 . . .	302
XXXVII. THE EXTENSION OF PROTESTANTISM, 1532-41	
126. <i>Consilium delectorum Cardinalium</i> . 1538 . . .	307
127. The Concord of Wittenberg. 29 May 1536 . . .	318
128. The Schmalkaldic Articles. 23 Feb. 1537 . . .	319
129. The Colloquy of Leipzig; Reform in Ducal Saxony. 2 Jan. 1539 . . .	319
130. Melanchthon on Reform in Electoral Brandenburg. 26 Oct. 1539 . . .	320
XXXVIII. THE LUTHERANIZING OF DENMARK, NORWAY, AND ICELAND, 1537-40	
131. The seizure of the Bishops of Denmark. 12 Aug. 1536 . . .	324
132. The Recess of the Diet of Copenhagen. 30 Oct. 1536 . . .	325
132 a. The <i>Ordinatio Ecclesiastica</i> for Denmark and Norway. 2 Sept. 1537 . . .	328
133. The Manifesto of Christian III for Norway. 30 Oct. 1536 . . .	334
134. The arrest of the Bishop of Hamar. 23 June 1537. . .	335

	PAGE
XXXIX. THE FOUNDING OF THE JESUITS BY PAUL III	
135. The Bull <i>Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae</i> . 27 Sept. 1540	335
XL. THE COLLOQUY OF RATISBON, 1541	
136. <i>Historia Conventus Ratisponensis</i> . 27 April-22 May 1541	341
137. The agreement on Justification; letter of Melanchthon. 10 May 1541	343
138. The prospects of re-union; letter of Card. Pole. 17 May 1541	344
139. Differences; letter of Melanchthon. 23 May 1541	345
140. Political rivalries; letter of Contarini. 28 April 1541	345
XLI. THE FOUNDING OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION BY PAUL III, 1542	
141. The Bull <i>Licet ab initio</i> . 21 July 1542	347
XLII. THE LAST WAR BETWEEN CHARLES AND FRANCIS, 1542-4	
142. The attempted reforms of Hermann, Abp. of Köln. 1543	352
143. The Treaty of Venlo. 7 Sept. 1543	353
144. The Peace of Crespy. 18 Sept. 1544	354
XLIII. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, 1545-63	
145. A speech of Cardinal Pole. 26 Feb. 1546	355
146. <i>Decretum de canonicis Scripturis</i> , Sessio IV. 8 April 1546	356
147. <i> Professio fidei Tridentinae a Pio IV praescripta</i> , 18 Nov. 1564	357
XLIV. THE INTERIM OF AUGSBURG	
148. The <i>Interim Augustanum</i> . 15 May 1548	359
XLV. THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG	
149. The Peace of Augsburg. 25 Sept. 1555	363

PART II. REFORMED

A. ZWINGLI AND CALVIN

I. SWITZERLAND IN 1513	
150. The Diet of Baden. 11 Aug. 1512	366
151. The League with Appenzell. 17 Dec. 1513	368
II. THE SWISS AT HOME, c. 1513	
152. Their military reputation	370
153. A prohibition of pensions. 21 July 1503	370
154. The Perpetual Treaty with France. 29 Nov. 1516	370
155. The Federal Constitution. 1511	371

	PAGE
156. The defence of Heinrich Göldli. 13 March 1520 .	373
157. The admissions of Canon Hofmann. Dec. 1521 .	374

§ I. German Switzerland.

III. ZWINGLI, THE HUMANIST, TO 1519	
158. Student-life in Vienna. c. 1513	376
159. Zwingli's debt to Wyttenbach. c. 1506	377
160. His enthusiasm for Erasmus. 29 April 1515	378
161. His liturgical discoveries. 1506-16	380
162. Einsiedeln. 13 June 1517	381
163. Beatus Rhenanus on Indulgences. 6 Dec. 1518	381
164. Leo X to Samson and to the Diet. 1 May 1519	382
IV. THE ISOLATION OF ZÜRICH, 1520-1	
165. The opposition to Zwingli in Zürich. 16 Feb. 1520	384
166. Mandate for Scriptural preaching. Dec. 1520	385
167. Bullinger's account of Zwingli's preaching. 1521	385
168. Zürich repudiates pensions. May 1521	385
169. Zwingli on the isolation of Zürich. 29 Dec. 1521	386
V. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION IN ZÜRICH, 1522	
170. The principles of the Reformation in Zürich	389
171. Citizens break the fast on Ash Wednesday. 5 March 1522	390
172. Street-fighting. March 1522	391
173. The defence of Chr. Froschauer. April 1522	391
174. Zwingli <i>De delectu et libero ciborum esu</i> . 23 March 1522	392
175. The commission of Hugo, Bishop of Constance. 7-9 April 1522	393
176. The decision of the Burgomaster and Council. 9 April 1522	398
177. The Bishop's Letter to the Council. 24 May 1522	399
178. Petition to the Bishop for marriage of clergy. 2 July 1522	400
179. Erasmus to Christopher, Bishop of Basel. 21 April 1522	401
180. Zwingli's debate with Francis Lambert. 16 July 1522	402
181. Zwingli's <i>Archeteles</i> . 22 Aug. 1522	402
182. Zwingli <i>De claritate et certitudine Verbi Dei</i> . 6 Sept. 1522	406
183. Zwingli's resignation and re-appointment. 12 Nov. 1522	407
184. The Council's order to the nuns of Oetenbach. 1 Dec. 1522	407
VI. THE DISPUTATIONS AT ZÜRICH, 1523	
185. The proclamation of the First Disputation. 3 Jan. 1523	410

	PAGE
186. Zwingli's Sixty-seven Articles. 19 Jan. 1523 . . .	411
187. Letter of Adrian VI to Zwingli. 23 Jan. 1523 . . .	415
188. The address of the Burgomaster. 29 Jan. 1523 . . .	416
189. The First Disputation. 29 Jan. 1523 . . .	417
190. The Decree of the Council. 29 Jan. 1523 . . .	422
191. The Bishop's Pastoral. 10 July 1523 . . .	423
192. The Form of Baptism at Zürich [1525]. 10 Aug. 1523 . . .	423
193. Zwingli, <i>De Canone Missae Epicheiresis</i> . 29 Aug. 1523 . . .	424
194. Ordinance for the reform of the Great Minster. 29 Sept. 1523 . . .	425
195. Summons to the Second Disputation. 12 Oct. 1523 . . .	427
196. The reply of Obwalden 25 Oct. 1523 . . .	428
197. The Second Disputation. 26-8 Oct. 1523 . . .	429
198. Mandate for the abolition of Images and the Mass. 27 Oct. 1523 . . .	438
199. The Council sends preachers into the country districts. 9 Nov. 1523 . . .	439
200. Zwingli's <i>Isagoge</i> . 9 Nov. 1523 . . .	440
VII. THE REFORMATION COMPLETED IN ZÜRICH, 1524-5	
201. Treatment of the Old Learning. 19 Jan. 1524 . . .	442
202. The Council's defence of its proceedings. 21 March 1524 . . .	442
203. Putting down of relics and organs. June 1524 . . .	442
204. Dissolution of the Religious Houses. 5 Dec. 1524 . . .	443
205. The last Mass in Zürich. 12 Apr. 1525 . . .	443
206. The Lord's Supper as administered in Zürich. 13 Apr. 1525 . . .	443
207. The Prophesyings in place of the Choir Office. 19 Jan. 1525 . . .	448
208. The Council's mandate for Church-going. 10 Aug. 1531 . . .	450
VIII. THE ANABAPTISTS IN ZÜRICH, 1525-32	
209. Zwingli's admissions to Hübmaier. 1 May 1523 . . .	451
210. Opinions of Grebel and Hübmaier. 1524-5 . . .	452
211. The Council's mandate for infant baptism. 18 Jan. 1525 . . .	453
212. Anabaptism begins. 7 Feb. 1525 . . .	454
213. Anabaptists to be drowned. 7 March 1526 . . .	455
214. Zwingli <i>De Baptismo</i> . 27 May 1525 . . .	456
215. Zwingli <i>In Catapultistarum strophas Elenchus</i> . 31 July 1531 . . .	457
IX. REFORM IN THE REST OF GERMAN SWITZERLAND TO 1529	
216. The Disputation of Baden. 21 May-8 June 1526 . . .	459

CONTENTS

xv

	PAGE
217. The <i>Theses Bernenses</i> . 6 Jan. 1528 . . .	459
218. The Disputation of Bern. 29 Jan. 1528 . . .	460
219. Image-breaking at Basel. 10 Feb. 1529 . . .	464
X. CAPPEL, 1529-31	
220. The Christian Civic Alliance. 25 Dec. 1527 . . .	469
221. Zwingli to his friends in Bern. 30 May 1529 . . .	470
222. The First Peace of Cappel. 25 June 1529 . . .	470
223. Zwingli to Conrad Sam at Ulm. 30 June 1529 . . .	471
224. Philip of Hesse to Zwingli. 22 April 1529 . . .	471
225. Zwingli's <i>Fidei Ratio</i> . 8 July 1530 . . .	472
226. The <i>Confessio Tetrapolitana</i> . 11 July 1530 . . .	475
227. The Second Peace of Cappel. 20 Nov. 1531 . . .	475
§ 2. French Switzerland.	
XI. FAREL, 1526-32	
228. Farel at Aigle. 30 Nov. 1526 . . .	478
229. Bern upholds him. 1527-8 . . .	479
230. Aigle, Ollon, and Bex vote for the Reformation. March 1528 . . .	481
231. Images and the Mass to be put down there. 12 March 1528 . . .	482
232. The rites of Bern to be set up there. 25 April 1528 . . .	482
233. Farel pastor at Aigle, and Robert at Bex. July 1528 . . .	482
234. Farel at Neuchâtel. Nov. 1529 . . .	483
235. Farel's treatment at Valangin. 15 Aug. 1530 . . .	483
236. Catholic worship abolished at Neuchâtel. 23 Oct.- 4 Nov. 1530 . . .	484
237. The Recess of Neuchâtel 4 Nov. 1530 . . .	488
238. Morat reformed, with Farel as pastor. Jan. 1530 . . .	489
239. Tumults at Grandson. 23-4 Sept. 1531 . . .	489
240. Toleration of both religions at Grandson and Orbe. 30 Jan. 1532 . . .	490
241. The Waldenses. 1532 . . .	491
242. Farel's attempt on Geneva. 4 Oct. 1532 . . .	492
XII. POLITICS IN GENEVA, TO THE ARRIVAL OF FAREL, 1519-32	
243. Berthelier beheaded. 23 Aug. 1519 . . .	496
244. Alliance of Geneva with Bern and Freiburg. 8 Feb. 1526 . . .	498
245. Pierre de la Baume, Prince-Bishop of Geneva. 1522-†44 . . .	499
246. The Peace of St. Julien. 19 Oct. 1530 . . .	500
XIII. FAREL IN GENEVA, 1532-6	
247. The Placards. 9 June 1532 . . .	503
248. The Council disclaims 'Lutheranism'. June and July 1532 . . .	504

	PAGE
249. Antony Fromment arrives in Geneva. 3 Nov. 1532	504
250. The Council seeks to temporize. 30 March 1533	505
251. Bern demands the arrest of Furbitt. 17 Dec. 1533	506
252. Freiburg requires the silencing of Farel. 24 Dec. 1533	507
253. Bern sends an ultimatum. 21 Jan. 1534	507
254. The First Disputation of Geneva. 27 Jan.-3 Feb. 1534	508
255. The grant of a church to the Reformed. 1 March 1534	509
256. The Bishop attacks Geneva. 30 July 1534	510
257. The Reformed still in a minority. 1534	511
258. The request of the Warden of the Franciscans. 23 April 1535	512
259. The Decree of the Two Hundred. 26 May 1535	512
260. The Second Disputation of Geneva. 30 May-24 June 1535	512
261. Farel completes his victory. July-Aug. 1535	513
262. The abolition of the Mass. 10 Aug. 1535	514
263. Religious and Seculars put down. 12 Aug. 1535	515
264. Departure of the Sisters of St. Clare. 29 Aug. 1535	516
265. Geneva reports its condition to Bern. 10 Aug. 1535	517
266. The citizens swear to the Reformation. 21 May 1536	518
267. The independence of Geneva. 7 Aug. 1536	519
XIV. CALVIN, TO HIS ARRIVAL IN GENEVA, 1509-36	
268. Calvin's conversion. 1532-3	523
269. Nicholas Cop. Oct.-Nov. 1533	524
270. Francis I to the <i>Parlement</i> of Paris. 10 Dec. 1533	526
271. Calvin's preface to his <i>Psychopannychia</i> . 1534	528
272. The Placards against the Mass. 17 Oct. 1534	528
273. Calvin's <i>Christianae Religionis Institutio</i> . 23 Aug. 1536	532
274. Calvin detained by Farel in Geneva. Aug. 1536	544
275. Calvin Lecturer at the Cathedral in Geneva. 5 Sept. 1536	544
XV. FAREL AND CALVIN IN GENEVA, 1536-8	
276. The Emperor's prohibition of the Disputation at Lausanne. 5 July 1536	548
277. Bern's summons for the Disputation at Lausanne 16 July 1536	549
278. The Disputation of Lausanne. 1-8 Oct. 1536	549
279. Bern's order to put down 'popery' in the Pays de Vaud. 19 Oct. 1536	554

280. Bern's edict of Reformation for the Pays de Vaud. 24 Dec. 1536	555
281. The Synods of Lausanne. 1537-8	559
282. The case of Jean Balard at Geneva. 24 July 1536	559
283. Farel's <i>Articuli de regimine Ecclesiae</i> . 10 Nov. 1536	560
284. Memorandum of the Ministers of Geneva to the Council. 13 Jan. 1537	560
285. The Councils accept the Memorandum. 16 Jan. 1537	567
286. <i>Confession de la Foi . . . de Genève</i> . 27 April 1537	568
287. Anabaptists in Geneva. 9 March 1537	572
288. Caroli accuses Farel and Calvin of Arianism. 17 Feb. 1537	573
289. The Councils enforce the <i>Confession</i> . May-Nov. 1537	575
290. The Council repudiates Excommunication. 3-4 Jan. 1538	576
291. The Council votes the Bernese ceremonies. 11-12 March 1538	577
292. Bern insists on their adoption. 15 April 1538	577
293. The Council demands their adoption by the preachers. 19 April 1538	578
294. Farel and Calvin banished from Geneva. 21-3 April 1538	579
XVI. CALVIN IN EXILE, 1538-41	
295. The Synod of Zürich. 29 Apr.-4 May 1538	581
296. The letter of Cardinal Sadoletto to Geneva. 18 March 1539	583
297. Calvin's reply to Sadoletto. 1 Sept. 1539	584
298. The Councils entreat Calvin to return to Geneva. 22 Oct. 1540	586
299. The pastors of Zürich urge him to return. 4 April 1541	587
300. Calvin returns to Geneva. 13 Sept. 1541	588
XVII. THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE IN GENEVA, 1541-2	
301. Calvin's terms. 16 Sept. 1541	589
302. <i>Les Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de l'Eglise de Genève</i> . 20 Nov. 1541	589
303. <i>La petite traité de la Cène</i> . 1542	603
304. <i>Le Catechisme de l'Eglise de Genève</i> . 1542	604
305. <i>La forme des prières ecclésiastiques</i> . 1542	615
306. Calvin reviews his labours. Jan. 1542	628
XVIII. THE DISCIPLINE IN GENEVA, 1542-64	
307. The Consistory. 1542-6	632
308. The right of excommunication contested. Easter 1543	633

	PAGE
309. Castellio. 12 June 1544	634
310. Pierre Ameaux. 8 April 1546	636
311. Madame Perrin. 24 June 1547	637
312. Jacques Gruet. 26 July 1547	639
313. Bolsec. 23 Dec. 1551	641
314. The <i>Consensus Genevensis</i> . 1 Jan. 1552	643
315. Servetus. 27 Oct. 1553	646
316. The right of Excommunication conceded. 24 Jan. 1555	647
317. The University of Geneva. 5 June 1559	648
318. Calvin's farewell, and death. 27 May 1564	649

B. CALVINISM BEYOND GENEVA

§ 1. Central Europe.

XIX. SWITZERLAND, HUNGARY, THE PALATINATE, AND POLAND

319. The <i>Consensus Tigurinus</i> . 1 May 1549.	652
320. The <i>Confessio Czengerina</i> . 1557-8.	656
321. The Heidelberg Catechism. 1563	657
322. The <i>Consensus Sandomiriensis</i> . 14 April 1570	658

§ 2. France.

XX. THE HUGUENOTS, c. 1560

323. The Edict of Châteaubriand. 27 June 1551	661
324. The Edict of Compiègne. 24 July 1557	662
325. Calvin to the 'Five Scholars of Lausanne'. Dec. 1552	663
326. The first minister and congregation in Paris. Sept. 1555	663
327. The first National Synod at Paris. 26 May 1559	664
328. The <i>Confessio Gallicana</i> . 26 May 1559	665
329. <i>La Discipline Ecclesiastique</i> . 25 May 1559	673
330. The Report of the Venetian Ambassador. 1561	679

§ 3. The Netherlands.

XXI. THE DUTCH REFORMED, 1559-62

331. The Venetian Ambassador on Philip II. 1559	682
332. The increase of Bishoprics. 18 Aug. 1559	684
333. The <i>Confessio Belgica</i> . 1561	685

§ 4. Scotland.

XXII. THE OVERTHROW OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, 1560

334. Ninian Winzet on the corruptions of the Church. 15 Feb. 1562	688
335. The prohibition of Lutheran Books. 17 July 1525	689

CONTENTS

xix

	PAGE
336. Birth of Mary Queen of Scots and Death of James V. Dec. 1542	689
337. Mary's education in France. April 1550	690
338. Mary's marriage to the Dauphin. 24 April 1558	690
339. Knox on the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. 6 April 1559	691
340. The King warns the Clergy. 6 Jan. 1540	692
341. The Synods of Edinburgh. 1549-59	693
342. Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism. 1552	694
343. 'The Paip, that Pagane full of pryde.' c. 1560	695
344. The 'Band' or Covenant. 3 Dec. 1557	696
345. The destruction at Perth. 11 May 1559	697
346. The assistance of England. July-Nov. 1559	698
347. The Treaty of Edinburgh. 6 July 1560	699
348. Parliament alters faith and worship. 17-24 Aug. 1560	700
XXIII. THE NEW FAITH, DISCIPLINE, AND WORSHIP, 1560-4	
349. The First Confession of Faith. 1560	704
350. The First Book of Discipline. 1560	707
351. The Book of Common Order. 1564	708

PART I. LUTHERAN

I

DEFINITION OF THE TREASURY OF MERITS

In [No. 1] the Bull *Unigenitus* (*Extrav. Commun.* Lib. V. Tit. ix. c. 2. *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ii. 1304 ed. Friedberg, Lipsiae, 1881) of 27 January 1343 Clement VI defined the source of Indulgences to be the treasure of the Church, thus authoritatively approving the theory on which they had been based by the Schoolmen; cf. St. Thomas Aq. *Summae Suppl.* qu. XXV, art. 1. It was this definition that Cajetan accused Luther of contravening; cf. Thesis 58 (No. 11 *infra*) and the account of their interview (No. 16 *infra*).

No. 1. The Bull *Unigenitus* of Clement VI.

Unigenitus Dei Filius de sinu Patris in utero dignatus est descendere matris, in qua et ex qua nostrae mortalitatis substantiam divinitati suae, in Suppositi¹ unitate, ineffabili unione coniunxit, id, quod fuit permanens et quod non erat, assumens, ut haberet, unde hominem lapsum redimeret, et pro eo satisfaceret Deo Patri. Ubi enim venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum, factum sub lege, natum ex muliere, ut eos, qui sub lege erant, redimeret, ut adoptionem reciperent filiorum. Ipse namque factus nobis a Deo sapientia, iustitia, sanctificatio et redemptio, non per sanguinem hircorum aut vitulorum, sed per proprium sanguinem introivit semel in sancta, aeterna redemptione inventa. Non enim corruptibilibus auro et argento, sed sui ipsius agni incontaminati et immaculati pretioso sanguine nos redemit, quem in ara crucis innocens immolatus non guttam sanguinis modicam, quae tamen propter unionem ad Verbum pro redemptione totius humani generis suffecisset, sed copiose velut quoddam profluvium noscitur effudisse ita, ut a planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis nulla sanitas inveniretur in ipso. Quantum ergo exinde, ut nec supervacua inanis aut superflua tantae effusionis misratio redideret, thesaurum militanti ecclesiae acquisivit, volens suis thesaurizare filiis pius Pater, ut sic sit infinitus thesaurus hominibus,

¹ = Ἰπóστασις vel Persona. Cf. Petavius, *de Trinitate*, IV. iii. 2.

quo qui usi sunt Dei amicitiae participes sunt effecti. Quem quidem thesaurum non in sudario repositum, non in agro absconditum, sed per beatum Petrum coeli clavigerum, eiusque successores suos in terris vicarios, commisit fidelibus salubriter dispensandum, et propriis et rationabilibus causis, nunc pro totali, nunc pro partiali remissione poenae temporalibus pro peccatis debitae, tam generaliter quam specialiter, (prout cum Deo expedire cognoscerent), vere poenitentibus et confessis misericorditer applicandum. Ad cuius quidem thesauri cumulum beatae Dei genetricis omniumque electorum a primo iusto usque ad ultimum merita adminiculum praestare noscuntur, de cuius consumptione seu minutione non est aliquatenus formidandum, tam propter infinita Christi (ut praedictum est) merita, quam pro eo, quod, quanto plures ex eius applicatione trahuntur ad iustitiam, tanto magis accrescit ipsorum cumulus meritorum.

Quod felicitis recordationis Bonifacius Papa VIII praedecessor noster, pie (sicut indubie credimus) considerans, et attenta meditatione revolvens, quantum apud homines gloriosi principes terrae Petrus et Paulus . . . in speciali veneratione haberi debeant . . . inconsumptibilem thesaurum huiusmodi pro excitanda et remuneranda devotione fidelium voluit aperire, decernens, de fratrum suorum consilio, ut omnes qui, in anno a Nativitate Domini mccc et quolibet anno centesimo extunc secuturo ad dictorum Apostolorum basilicas de Urbe accederent reverenter, ipsasque, si Romani, ad minus xxx, si vero peregrini aut forenses fuerint, xv diebus continuis vel interpolatis, saltem semel in die, dum tamen vere poenitentes et confessi existerent, personaliter visitarent, suorum omnium obtinerent plenissimam veniam peccatorum.

Nos autem attendentes quod annus quinquagesimus in lege Mosaica, (quam non venit Dominus solvere sed spiritualiter adimplere), iubilaeus remissionis et gaudii, sacerque dierum numerus, quo lege fit remissio, censebatur . . . volentesque quam plurimos huiusmodi indulgentiae fore participes, quum pauci multorum respectu propter vitae hominum brevitatem valeant ad annum centesimum pervenire, de fratrum nostrorum consilio praedictam concessionem indulgentiae ex supra scriptis et aliis iustis causis ad annum quinquagesimum duximus reducendam, statuantes de fratrum consilio praedictorum et apostolicae plenitudine potestatis, ut universi fideles, qui vere poenitentes et confessi in anno a Nativitate eiusdem mccccl proxime futuro, et deinceps perpetuis futuris temporibus de

quingenta in quingenta annis praedictas eorundem Petri et Pauli Apostolorum basilicas et Lateranensem ecclesiam . . . visitaverint, plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum veniam consequantur, ita videlicet, ut, quicumque voluerint indulgentiam huiusmodi assequi, si Romani, ad minus xxx, si vero peregrini aut forenses, modo simili xv diebus ad praedictas basilicas et ecclesiam accedere teneantur . . .

II

THE FIRST APPLICATION OF INDULGENCES TO SOULS IN PURGATORY

In his [No. 2] **Bull Salvator noster** (Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, iii. 585 sqq.) of 3 Aug. 1476 Sixtus IV granted to the church of Saintes the earliest Indulgence for the dead *per modum suffragii*. The first of the two following extracts is from the Bull and contains the terms of the grant: the second is from a *Summarium* or prospectus issued by the church of Saintes to advertise the privileges which it had received.

No. 2. The Bull Salvator noster of Sixtus IV.

(i)

Et ut animarum salus eo tempore potius procuretur, quo magis aliorum egent suffragiis et quominus sibi ipsis proficere valent, auctoritate Apostolica de thesauro ecclesiae, animabus in purgatorio existentibus succurrere volentes quae per caritatem ab hac luce Christo unitae decesserint, et quae dum viverent sibi ut huiusmodi indulgentia suffragarentur meruerunt, paterno cupientes affectu, quanto cum Deo possumus, de divina misericordia confisi et de plenitudine potestatis, concedimus pariter et indulgemus, ut si qui parentes amici aut caeteri Christifideles pietate commoti pro ipsis animabus purgatorio igni pro expiatione poenarum eiusdem secundum divinam iustitiam expositis, durante dicto decennio pro reparatione ecclesiae Xanctonensis certam pecuniae quantitatem aut valorem iuxta dictorum decani et capituli dictae ecclesiae aut nostri collectoris ordinationem dictam ecclesiam visitando dederint, aut per nuntios per eosdem deputandos durante dicto decennio miserint, volumus ipsam plenariam remissionem per modum suffragii ipsis animabus purgatorii pro quibus dictam quantitatem pecuniae aut valorem persolverint ut praefertur pro

relaxatione poenarum valere et suffragari. Volumus insuper omnes utriusque sexus Christifideles, de plenitudine potestatis ex nostra mera liberalitate, qui manus adiutrices visitando vel mittendo per supradictos nuntios pro dicta ecclesia porrexerint, ac omnes et singulos eorundem parentes defunctos aut eorum benefactores qui cum caritate decesserint, in omnibus suffragiis, precibus, eleemosynis, ieiuniis, orationibus, disciplinis et caeteris omnibus spiritualibus bonis qui fiunt et fieri poterunt in tota universali sacrosancta Christi ecclesia militante et omnibus membris eiusdem, participes in perpetuo fieri . . .

(ii)

Primo notandum est quod quatuor gratiae principaliter conceduntur per dictas bullas cunctis Christifidelibus dictam ecclesiam Xanctonensem certis diebus visitantibus aut ad illam per nuntios ecclesiae de bonis suis mittentibus.

Prima gratia concessa supradictis fidelibus est gratia iubilaei . . . [Sequitur textus bullae] . . .

Secunda gratia concessa indifferenter omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus dictam ecclesiam Xanctonensem visitantibus vel ad illorum arbitrium ad dictam ecclesiam de bonis suis per nuntios ecclesiae mittentibus est facultas confessionalis quae praeter confessionalia solita dari continet unum singulare, scilicet praeter totiens quotiens de casibus reservatis diocesanis et praeter remissionem semel in vita et in mortis articulo, continet remissionem plenariam nedum semel in vita sed totiens quotiens homo verisimiliter dubitat de morte sua etiam si tunc non moriatur, ut puta existens in procella maris, homines existentes in obsidione, mulieres prope partum vel in partu, moram trahentes in loco in quo viget pestis, et sic de multis aliis. Ista est inaudita clausula, praecipue pro transretantibus. Ista clausula debet praticari erga illos qui dicunt se habere confessionalia. [Sequitur textus] . . .

Tertia gratia praecipua et per S. D. N. concessa est remissio plenaria et gratia iubilaei animabus in purgatorio existentibus . . .

Quarta et ultima gratia : . . S. D. N. . . vult et concedit quod dicti fideles manus adiutrices porrigentes et illorum parentes et benefactores defuncti qui cum caritate decesserunt, ut puta quorum animae sunt in purgatorio, sint participes in omnibus suffragiis ecclesiae universalis nunc et in perpetuum, quae est maxima gratia si bene praticetur . . .

III

THE INDULGENCE AS AN EXPEDIENT OF
PAPAL FINANCE

[No. 3] The Bull *Liquet omnibus* of Julius II (*Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, i. 502, Luxemburgi, 1727), dated 11 January 1510, is that which seven years later excited Luther's revolt. In the commission now directed to Francesco Zeno no mention is made of repentance and confession as a condition for gaining the indulgence, but only of payment. For an extra sum the sinner may choose his own confessor; and if he impose a 'salutary penance', it is to consist of a further contribution to the fabric of St. Peter's. 'The whole document is evidently drawn with the purpose of enabling the pardoners to represent it as an indulgence *a culpa et a poena*' (Lea, *op. cit.* iii. 75): and, as it offers everything for sale, it illustrates the important place which indulgences had now taken among the ordinary financial expedients of the Papacy.

No. 3. The Bull *Liquet omnibus* of Julius II.

Liquet omnibus Christianae fidei cultoribus beatum Petrum ab ipso Salvatore nostro Domino Iesu Christo Apostolorum principem fuisse constitutum, eique ligandi atque solvendi animas coelesti privilegio traditam esse potestatem, cum ei dicitur, Tu es Petrus &c.

§ 1. Unde nos qui licet imparibus meritis eiusdem coelorum clavigeri successores sumus, et eius loco in sancta Dei ecclesia residemus, considerantes quod diffusis per orbem terrarum ecclesiis ex iniuncto nobis a Deo Apostolatus officio providere teneamur, ut ecclesiae ipsae quae domus Dei sunt in suis structuris et aedificiis non solum conserventur sed etiam, si opus fuerit, reparentur, circa tamen Basilicam de Urbe ipsius Petri principis Apostolorum maiorem curam et diligentiam adhibere nos convenit, ut sicut ipse beatus Petrus ab ipso Salvatore nostro princeps Apostolorum est constitutus, ita etiam ipsius Basilica quae non parva reparatione indiget inter caeteras Urbis et orbis ecclesias, congruentibus ac etiam necessariis aedificiis reaedificetur, construatur et ampliatur, ac reaedificata, constructa, et ampliata conservetur.

§ 2. Et cum nuper ex praemissis et certis aliis rationalibus causis, iuxta nostri cordis desiderium ad dictae Basilicae restaurationem manus operarias apposuissemus, cognoscentes

fabricam huiusmodi absque piis et largis fidelium erogationibus ad finem optatum perducere non posse, per quasdam primo universis Christifidelibus utriusque sexus, qui infra annum a die publicationis earundem computandum, in capsula ad id in dicta Basilica collocanda per seipsos mitterent, vel per alios mitti et poni facerent, tantum quantum eorum pia devotio eis dictaret in pecunia numerata aut rebus aliis ad opus ipsum convertendis, vel circa opus se personaliter exercerent . . .

§ 3. Ut idoneum possent eligere confessorem, qui eos a certis tunc expressis casibus absolvere et super certis etiam tunc expressis in foro conscientiae dumtaxat dispensare posset, concessimus facultatem . . .

§ 6. Nos cupientes prout nobis et inter caetera nostra desiderabilia cordi est praedictae Basilicae fabricam ad debitam perfectionem deduci, et de fidelitate, diligentia et solitudine in praemissis dilecti filii Francisci Zeni de Mediolano, d. Ordinis fratrum Minorum de Observantia nuncupatorum professoris et provinciarum citramontanarum dicti Ordinis . . . Vicarii generalis, . . . plurimum coram eisdem ipsum in dictis provinciis et insulis¹ indulgentiarum huiusmodi nostrum et Apostolicae Sedis Nuncium et Commissarium . . . tenore praesentium facimus, constituimus et deputamus . . .

§ 7. Et nihilominus universis Christifidelibus utriusque sexus, tam saecularibus quam regularibus Ordinum quorumcumque provinciarum et insularum praedictarum qui iuxta eiusdem Francisci Zeni Commissarii et Nuncii aut deputati seu subdelegati, aut deputandorum seu subdelegandorum, ad eorundem providam ordinationem super hoc faciendam in capsula ad hoc in subsidium dictae fabricae . . . pias elemosynas effectualiter posuerint, plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem consequantur.

§ 8. Et qui cum praefato Commissario, seu delegandis et subdelegandis praedictis convenerint, ut idoneum possint eligere confessorem . . . qui eorum confessione diligenter audita, pro commissis per eligentem delictis et excessibus ac peccatis quibuscumque, quantumcumque gravibus et enormibus etiam Sedi Apostolicae reservatis casibus . . . et in non reservatis casibus, totiens quotiens id petierint, et in mortis articulo, plenariam omnium peccatorum indulgentiam et remissionem impendere ac poenitentiam salutarem iniun-

¹ Cf. § 4, Italy, the islands of the Mediterranean, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and Poland.

gere, et Eucharistiae sacramentum, praeterquam in die Paschatis, et in mortis articulo aliis anni temporibus ministrare, nec non per eos emissa vota quaecumque . . . in alia pietatis opera commutare. . . .

§ 14. Ac quoscumque qui ante aetatem legitimam ad sacros etiam presbyteratus ordines . . . se promoveri fecerunt . . . ac quoscumque, qui publicae honestatis <et> iustitiae impedimento seu alias quomodolibet impediti, matrimonium, scienter vel ignoranter, in quarto vel tertio, ac per copulam fornicariam, non tamen publicam, etiam in primo affinitatis gradu contraxissent et carnali copula consumassent, si impedimentum huiusmodi in iudicium deductum non fuerit, vel scandalum generare non possit, ab excessu huiusmodi ac excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurrissent, iniuncta inde eis pro modo culpae poenitentia salutari quae ad fabricam huiusmodi dirigatur . . . absolvere . . .

IV

SPECIMEN GRANTS OF 1513-17

(i)

Francesco Zeno, to whom Julius II had entrusted the indulgences granted by his Bull *Liquet omnibus*, died 23 July 1512. He was succeeded by another Franciscan, Timothy of Lucca. The following are the [No. 4] **Formulae of absolution** (Loescher, *Reformationes*, i. 371 sqq.) which he was authorized to employ. It will be observed that the contribution had to be made three times; (a) for the general absolution, (b) for the dead, (c) for leave to communicate at will.

No. 4. Formulae of absolution, &c.

(a) Formula absolutionis plenariae praemissa confessione. Semel in vita et in quolibet periculo et in mortis articulo vel verisimili.

Misereatur tui &c. Et post verba communis absolutionis, dicat Sacerdos: Iterum Apostolica auctoritate tibi concessa, et mihi in hac parte commissa, absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis, delictis et excessibus quantumcunque enormibus, hactenus per te commissis, ac censuris quomodolibet incursis, etiam Sedi Apostolicae reservatis, in quantum mihi facultas

conceditur. Et iterum remitto, per plenariam indulgentiam, omnem poenam in purgatorio tibi debitam, pro praemissis, ac restituo te illi innocentiae et puritati quam in baptismo accepisti ita quod decedenti tibi ab hoc saeculo clausae sint portae poenarum et apertae ianuae deliciarum Paradisi. Quod si hac vice non morieris, salva sit tibi nihilominus ista gratia, quando alias fueris in articulo mortis. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

(b) Pro defunctis.

Quoniam S. D. N. Dominus Iulius Papa II cupiens, subsidio thesauri sanctae matris Ecclesiae, animas defunctorum in Purgatorio existentes, a poenis liberari, Nobis fratri Timotheo de Luca Ordinis Minorum de Observantia, Apostolicae Sedis super totam Italiam, Ungariam, Poloniam, Bohemiam, Austriam et nonnullas alias provincias, quoad executionem Bullae et aliarum literarum Apostolicarum, pro fabrica infrascriptae Ecclesiae emanatarum, Nuncio et Commissario generali, commisit ut singulis Christifidelibus, pro eorum parentum vel amicorum defunctorum animabus in Purgatorii poenis degentibus, fabricae Ecclesiae principis Apostolorum de Urbe eleemosynam secundum ordinationem nostram erogantibus, plenariam in suffragiis, eleemosynis, ieiuniis, orationibus, missis, horis canonicis, disciplinis, peregrinationibus et caeteris omnibus spiritualibus bonis quae fient et fieri poterunt, in tota universali Ecclesia militante, Pontifex ipse participes fieri et esse voluit. Et quia honestus Iohannes Dytting, pietate motus, medio Fratris Baptistae de Austria, Commissarii Apostolici, subdelegati nostri, pro anima suae matris Elisabeth defunctae, capsae praefatae fabricae, iuxta tenorem Bullae super hoc editae, eleemosynam erogavit; ideo animae praedictae defunctae plenissimam indulgentiam praefatam pro plenaria poenarum relaxatione pariterque participatione superscriptorum omnium bonorum suffragari debere per praesentes auctoritate Apostolica decernimus. Datum in Elwingo, die vigesima sexta mensis Novembris, Anno Domini mcccc tertio decimo.

(c) Auctoritas communionem recipiendi, extra Parochiam et sine licentia Curati, totiens quotiens devotio exegerit, praeter diem Paschae et mortis articulum.

Universis et singulis, venerabilibus Episcopis, Presbyteris, Religiosis, caeterisque praesentes literas inspecturis, Frater

THE NEW LEARNING AND OBSCURANTISM

Johann Reuchlin, 1455-1522, the famous Hebrew scholar, became involved in a controversy with Johann Pfefferkorn, a Jew baptized in Köln 1506, in regard to the desirability of confiscating and destroying the books of the Jews. Reuchlin demurred Oct. 1510, and defended himself in his 'Augenspiegel'. It was condemned by the theologians of Köln, Ortwin Gratius among them; and Reuchlin was summoned to appear before Hochstraten as Inquisitor-General, Sept. 1513. He appealed to Leo X, who referred the case to the Bishop of Speier; and in March 1514 the Bishop gave sentence in favour of Reuchlin. It was now Hochstraten's turn to appeal to the Pope; but by this time 'the original dispute . . . had merged into a contest between the New Learning and scholasticism', and 'the matter had been practically settled by public opinion'. In March 1514, Reuchlin, to show that the weight of learned opinion was on his side, published a volume of *Clarorum Virorum Epistolae missae ad Johannem Reuchlin*. It occurred c. 1515-7 to Crotus Rubianus (Johann Jaeger, 1486-1540) and Ulrich von Hutten, 1488-1523, to let off their wit at Obscurantism by means of a 'similar collection of letters' professedly 'addressed to Ortwin Gratius by . . . sympathizing members of his university circle'. But 'the real importance of the [No. 5] *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (Hutten's *Opusculum Supplementum*, i. 226 sq., ed. Böcking, Lipsiae, 1864) lay in its success in popularizing the conception of "a stupid party" which was opposed to the party of progress' (Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vi. 56, ed. 1897; cf. Beard, *Martin Luther*, 109 sqq., 325, ed. 1896). Luther alludes to the *Epistolae* but slightly. He spoke of them as the work of a 'Hans Wurst'.

No. 5. From the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*.

Henricus Schaffsmulius Magistro Ortuino Gratio salutem plurimam dicit. Cum priusquam ambulare ad Curiam, dixistis mihi quod saepe debeo vobis scribere et aliquando debeo dirigere aliquas quaestiones theologicales ad vos: tunc vultis mihi eas solvere melius quam curtisani Romae. Ergo nunc quaero dominationem vestram quid tenetis de eo, quando unus in die Veneris, id est feria sexta, vel alias quando est ieiunium, comedit ovum et est pullus intus? Quia nuper in Campo Florae sedimus in uno hospitio et fecimus collationem et comedimus ova: et ego aperiens ovum vidi quod juvenis pullus est in eo: et ostendi socio meo, tunc ipse dixit: 'Comedatis cito antequam hospes videt, quia quando videt, tunc oportet ei dare unum Carlinum vel Iulium pro gallina': quia hic est consuetudo quod quando hospes ponit

aliquid ad tabulam, tunc oportet solvere, quia non volunt recipere. Et si videt quod iuvenis gallina est in ovo, ipse dicit: 'Solvatis mihi etiam gallinam,' quia computat parvam, sicut magnam. Et ego statim bibi ovum, et simul illum pullum intus: et postea cogitavi quod fuit dies Veneris, et dixi socio meo: 'Vos fecistis quod feci peccatum mortale comedendo carnes in feriis sextis.' Et dixit ipse, quod non est peccatum mortale: immo non est peccatum veniale: quia ille pullaster non reputatur aliter quam ovum, donec est natus. Et dixit mihi quod est sicut de caseis in quibus aliquando sunt vermes, et in cerasis, et in pisis et fabis recentibus, sed tamen comeduntur in sextis feriis, et etiam in vigiliis Apostolorum. Hospites autem ita sunt pultroni quod dicunt quod sunt carnes, ut habeant plus pecuniam. Tunc ego abivi et cogitavi desuper. Et per Deum, Magister Ortuine, ego sum multum turbatus et nescio quomodo debeo me regere. Si vellem libenter consilium quaerere ab uno curtisano, tunc scio quod non habent bonas conscientias. Videtur mihi quod istae iuvenes gallinae in ovis sunt carnes: quia materia est iam formata et figurata in membri et corpus animalis, et habet animam vitalem. Aliud est quod vermibus in caseis et aliis: quia vermes reputantur pro piscibus, sicut ego audivi ab uno medico qui est valde bonus physicus. Ergo rogo vos multum cordialiter quatenus velitis mihi respondere ad propositam quaestionem. Quia si tenetis quod est peccatum mortale: tunc volo hic acquirere unam absolutionem, antequam vado ad Almaniam. Etiam debetis scire quod Magister Noster Iacobus de Hochstraten acquisivit mille florenos ex banco: et credo quod lucrabit causam, et diabolus confundet illum Ioannem Reuchlin et alios poetas et iuristas, quia volunt esse contra Ecclesiam Dei, id est contra Theologos, in quibus est fundata ecclesia, ut Christus dixit: 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam.' Et sic commendo vos Domino Deo. Valete. Datum in Urbe Roma.

VI

THE COMMISSION OF INDULGENCES TO ALBERT,
ELECTOR ARCHBISHOP OF MAINZ

At the end of 1514 Leo X began to organize collections for St. Peter's on a large scale. He did not venture to issue commissions for Spain, France proper, or England. But there were

three directed to Germany and neighbouring lands: 2 Dec. 1514 to Giovanni Angelo de' Arcemboldi for the provinces of Köln, Trier, Salzburg, Bremen, Besançon, Upsala, &c. (Hergenröther, *Leonis X Regesta*, n. 13053); 10 Jan. 1515 to Cristoforo de Forlì for Poland,¹ &c. (*ibid.* n. 13641); and 31 March 1515 to Albert of Mainz, 1514-145, for his provinces of Mainz and Magdeburg (*ibid.* n. 14825). He had obtained his election to the archbishopric of Mainz, 1514, by promising to pay for the pallium himself. It cost 20,000 gulden, and this sum had already been levied twice within the preceding decade on the territories of the see. To keep his promise he borrowed money from the banking house of Fugger at Augsburg, who arranged with the Pope to reimburse themselves out of the Indulgence by retaining half the proceeds and to pay over the remainder to the Holy See. The bargain was concluded in 1515, but its execution was deferred till 1517. The Elector then put the business of preaching the Indulgence into the hands of the Dominican John Tetzel, 1470-†1519, as his sub-commissary. Tetzel had had long experience of such work, ever since 1502; and, being at once an able theologian and a stirring preacher, he had been uniformly successful at it. Albert issued an [No. 6] *Instructio Summaria* (Gerdesii *Introductio in Historiam Evangelii sacculo xvi renovati*, Monumenta, No. ix, ed. Groningae, 1744) for his sub-commissaries. Tetzel issued a similar [No. 7] *Instructio* (Loescher, *Reformationsacta*, i. 415) for the parochial clergy, and also provided them with [No. 8] *specimen sermonis* (*ibid.* i. 416 sqq.) which illustrate his style of preaching. [No. 9] *Descriptions of the proceedings* (F. Myconius, 1491-†1546, *Historia Reformationis*, ap. Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History*, v. 362, ed. 1855) have also come down to us from contemporary hands, and [No. 10] *specimen grants* (Loescher, *op. cit.* i. 394).

No. 6. *Instructio Summaria ad sub-commissarios.*

Instructio Summaria ad sub-commissarios &c.

Albertus, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia, sanctarum Magdeburgensis ecclesiæ ac Moguntinensis sedis Archiepiscopus, Primas et sacri Romani imperii in Germania Archicancellarius, Princeps elector ac Administrator Halberstadensium ecclesiarum, Marchio Brandenburgensis, Stetinensis, Pomeraniæ, Cassuborum Sclavorumque Dux, Burggravius Nurenbergensis et Rugiæ Princeps, et Guardianus fratrum Ordinis Minorum de Observantia conventus Moguntini, præfatarum gratiæ plenissimæ indulgentiæ aliarumque apostolicarum facultatum specialiter conjunctim et in solidum commissarii apostolici deputati: cunctis viris ecclesiasticis,

¹ Ranke says that the commission of Cristoforo 'included only Switzerland and Austria' (*History of the Reformation*, 151: ed. R. A. Johnson, 1905). The *Regesta* say 'Poloniæ &c.'. In Switzerland Cristoforo's deputy was Bernhardin Samson (see No. 164, *infra*).

saecularibus, et quorumcunque ordinum etiam mendicantium regularibus, pro executione negotii plenissimarum indulgentiarum aliarumque facultatum &c. in favorem fabricae basilicae Principis Apostolorum de Urbe per S. D. N. Leonem Papam decimum nuper in forma iubilaei gratiose concessarum, subdeputandis et eligendis, salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Mittimus circumspectioni vestrae processum summarium in executione negotii indulgentiarum huiusmodi observandum . . .

Séquuntur quattuor principales gratiae per bullam apostolicam concessae: quarum quaelibet per se sine alia potest obtineri. Circa praedictas quattuor facultates praedicatores summam suam diligentiam impendere et facere debent, singulas fidelibus efficacissime insinuando et in quantum eis possibile fuerit interpretentur.

Prima gratia est plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum, qua quidem gratia nihil maius dici potest eo quod homo peccator et divina gratia privatus per illam perfectam remissionem et Dei gratiam denuo consequitur. Per quam etiam peccatorum remissionem sibi poenae in purgatorio propter offensam divinae maiestatis luendae plenissime remittuntur atque dicti purgatorii poenae omnino delentur. Et licet ad tantam gratiam promerendam nihil satis dignum possit retribui eo quod donum Dei et gratia aestimationem non habet, tamen ut Christifideles ad illam consequendam facilius invitentur, sequentem modum observandum statuimus, videlicet:—

Primo unusquisque corde contritus et ore confessus visitet saltem septem ecclesias ad hoc deputatas, videlicet, in quibus affixa sunt arma Papae et in qualibet ecclesia dicat devote quinque Pater noster et quinque Ave Maria, ad honorem quinque vulnerum D. N. I. C. per quem fuit facta redemptio nostra . . .

His vero qui lecto incumbunt poterit deputari aliqua devota imago, coram qua vel ad quam aliquas orationes secundum Penitentiarii arbitrium dicant . . .

Si vero aliqui vel aliqua visitationem ecclesiarum aut altarium praedictorum aliqua ratione vel causa sibi peterent remitti, tunc Penitentiarii audita ratione vel causa id facere poterunt: visitationem tamen praedictam faciant maiori contributione compensari.

Modus contribuendi in cistam. Quo vero ad contributionem ad capsam pro dictae fabricae Principis Apostolorum constructione: imprimis quidem debent Penitentiarii et confessores post expositam confitentibus huiusmodi plenariae remissionis et

facultatum magnitudinem eos interrogare, pro quanta contributione vel pecunia aut aliis bonis temporalibus vellent secundum suam conscientiam dicta plenissima remissione et facultatibus carere: et hoc ideo ut postea possint ipsos facilius ad contribuendum inducere. Et quoniam nimis variae et diversae sunt hominum conditiones, quas considerare non valemus et sic certas taxas imponere: ideo visum nobis est communi cursu huiusmodi taxas ita posse distinguere.

Reges et Reginae eorumque filii, Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, ac alii magni principes ad loca in quibus crux erecta est confluentes aut alias in eis existentes solvant saltem florenos aureos Rhenenses viginti quinque. Abbates et ecclesiarum Cathedralium Prelati maiores, Comites et Barones, ac alii nobiles potentiores et eorum uxores pro quolibet solvant florenos similes decem. Alii prelati et nobiles minores ac rectores insignium locorum, omnesque alii qui vel ex redditibus stabilibus vel mercibus aut alias communiter percipiunt in anno florenos similes quingentos, solvant florenos similes sex. Alii cives et mercatores qui percipiunt communiter florenos ducentos solvant florenos similes tres. Alii cives et mercatores mechanici proprios redditus et familiam habentes florenum unum similem. Alii minores medietatem floreni similes. . . . Et qui pecunias non habent precibus ieiuniis suam contributionem suppleant: regnum enim coelorum non plus divitiis quam pauperibus patere debet . . .

Secunda gratia principalis est confessionale plenum maximis et relevantissimis et prius inauditis facultatibus; quod etiam nostrae bullae octennio expirante semper vigorem vimque habebit, cum textus bullae dicat 'Nunc et in perpetuum participes fiant': cuius continentiam ac tenorem Predicatores et Confessores summis viribus explanare ac extollere debent. Conceditur enim in confessionali ipsum redimentibus:—

1^o facultas eligendi confessorem idoneum etiam mendicantium ordinum regularem, qui inprimis eos a quibuscunque censuris etiam ab homine latis de consensu partium absolvat.

2^o a quibuscunque gravissimis delictis, etiam Sedi Apostolicae reservatis, semel in vita et in mortis articulo.

3^o in casibus non reservatis Sedi Apostolicae totiens quotiens.

4^o qui semel in vita et in mortis articulo quotiens ille imminet, licet mors tunc non subsequatur, indulgentiam plenariam omnium peccatorum possit impendere.

5^o qui vota quaecunque (ultramarino, visitationis liminum Apostolorum, et sancti Iacobi in Compostella, religionis et

castitatis, votis solemniter emissis duntaxat exceptis) in alia pietatis opera commutare possit.

6^o qui Eucharistiae sacramentum omni tempore anni, praeterquam in die Paschae, et in mortis articulo eis ministrare possit.

Statuimus autem quod unum ex huiusmodi Confessionalibus, quatenus pauperes a gratis in eo contentis non excludantur, pro quarta parte aurei floreni Rhenensis dari et distribui debet . . . quod quidem plus ultra taxam ordinariam in capsam indulgentiarum imponi debet . . .

Tertia principalis gratia est participatio omnium bonorum ecclesiae universalis, quae in hoc stat quod contribuentes pro dicta fabrica ac eorum parentes defuncti qui in charitate decesserunt nunc et in perpetuum participabunt in omnibus precibus, suffragiis, eleemosynis, ieiuniis, orationibus, peregrinationibus quibuscunque etiam ad terram sanctam, stationibusque in Urbe, missis, horis canonicis, disciplinis et ceteris omnibus spiritualibus bonis quae fiunt et fieri poterunt in universali sacrosancta ecclesia militante, et omnibus eius membris. Quam participationem fideles tunc consequuntur quando literas confessionales redimunt. Circa quam facultatem Praedicatores et Confessores summopere insistere debent, fidelibus persuadendo ne ipsam et confessionale redimere negligant.

Declaramus etiam quod pro dictis duabus gratis principalibus consequendis non est opus confiteri, seu ecclesias aut altaria visitare, sed duntaxat confessionale redimere . . .

Quarta principalis gratia est pro animabus in purgatorio existentibus, plenaria omnium peccatorum remissio, quam remissionem Papa dictis animabus in purgatorio existentibus per modum suffragii largitur et concedit; ita videlicet quod pro eis in capsam contributio per viventes fiat qualem unus dare aut facere pro se haberet . . . Nec opus est quod contribuentes pro animabus in capsam sint corde contriti et ore confessi, cum talis gratia charitati in qua defunctus decessit et contributioni viventis duntaxat innitatur, prout ex textu bullae claret . . .

Aliae gratiae et facultates Apostolicae quattuor priores principales nunc sequuntur . . . Sciendum tamen quod eisdem facultatibus indigentes pro ipsis specialiter in usum praesentis negotii ad capsas positae imponere debent . . . quantum alias pro ipsarum consecutione exponere haberent . . .

Prima igitur est votorum omnium . . . in usum dictae fabricae commutatio . . .

Secunda facultas est dispensatio et compensatio cum simoniis et irregularibus . . . solvant fructus unius anni . . .

Tertia facultas est componendi super male ablatis, incertis vel etiam certis, in aliquibus casibus . . . In his enim omnibus casibus restitutio fieri deberet, et nescitur cui. Unde examinent conscientiam suam in quam summam possent habere male ablata, et componendo ab omni male ablatorum restitutione liberabuntur . . .

Quarta facultas est dispensandi cum eis qui ante aetatem legitimam sine dispensatione ad ordines sacros sunt promoti super irregularitate, et ut possint in susceptis ordinibus ministrare . . .

Quinta facultas est dispensandi cum his qui in gradu prohibito consanguinitatis et affinitatis contraxerunt, scienter vel ignoranter . . .

Sexta facultas est componendi cum iniuste occupantibus bona ecclesiarum vel monasteriorum . . .

Septima facultas est apprehendendi et de iure assequendi ad usum dictae fabricae omnia bona res et pecunias quae hactenus relictæ sunt et durante dicto octennio relinquuntur pro male ablatorum restitutione in quacunque ultima voluntate, quibuscunque incertis ecclesiis aut piis locis et personis . . . Similiter applicat Papa dictae fabricae omnia bona quae per aliquos iniuste retinentur: sed illi quibus illa bona restituenda essent aliqua ratione non possunt illa repetere . . .

No. 7. Tetzel's Instructio for parish priests.

Fragmentum summariae instructionis Io. Tezelii pro sacerdotibus.

Possunt absolvi et dispensari a quacunque irregularitate contracta, exceptis provenientibus ex homicidio voluntario et bigamia.

Item, qui aliqua coniunctione, spirituali vel carnali, videlicet in tertio vel quarto gradu consanguinitatis vel affinitatis impediti matrimonium contraxerunt, absolvi et dispensari possunt, et in contracto matrimonio remanere, et denuo si opus fuit contrahere valebunt, prolem susceptam et suscipiendam legitimam fore declarando.

Item, de omnibus male ablatis, incertis et etiam certis, per usurariam pravitatem quaesitis.

Item, de omnibus legatis ad pios usus relictis compositio et dispensatio fieri potest.

Item, multae aliae facultates habentur, quae causa brevitatis omittuntur.

Ideirco¹ perpendat populus quod hic est Roma. Ista nunc est ecclesia Sancti Petri, et ecclesiae nunc visitandae erunt loco ecclesiarum Romae visitandarum. Hi confessores poenitentiarum sunt et possunt sicut summi poenitentiarum in ecclesia Sancti Petri. Deus et Sanctus Petrus vocant vos. Disponite ergo ad tantam gratiam consequendam, et pro salute animarum vestrarum et defunctorum vestrorum. Nolite ergo tardare : quia qua hora non putatis Filius hominis veniet.

Item, murmuratores, detractores et qualitercunque et quomodocunque, directe vel indirecte, publice vel occulte, huiusmodi negotium impediētes, ipso facto sunt a Sanctissimo D. N. Papa Leone praedicto excommunicati . . . Ideo cavete ne ponatis os in coelum.

No. 8. Tetzels specimen sermons for parish priests.

Sermo secundi s.

Venerabilis Domine, rogo ut velit : populo vobis subiecto intimare, ne tantam gratiam ad salvandas animas concessam negligere velit . . . Non auditis vocem parentum vestrorum et aliorum defunctorum clamantium et dicentium : “ Misere mini, misere mini mei, saltem vos amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me ”² ; quia sumus in durissimis poenis et tormentis, a quibus possetis nos parva elemosyna redimere, et non vultis.’ Aperiat is aures, quia pater ad filium et mater ad filiam &c., dicentes : ‘ Quare sicut Deus persequimini me, et carnibus meis saturamini ? ’³ quasi dicendo, ‘ Nos genuimus, aluimus, gubernavimus, bona nostra temporalia relinquendo et estis tam crudeles et duri, quod nunc tanta facilitate nos liberare possetis, non vultis permittitisque in flammis iacere, gloriam nobis promissam tardantes.’ . . .

Sermo tertius.

Venerabilis Domine, oro ut ovibus vestris meo nomine talia facere verba velitis, ut oculos mentis aperire velint considerare quantam gratiam et donum in foribus habuerunt et nunc habent. Vere beati oculi qui vident quod ipsi vident . . . Capiatis literas salvi conductus a Vicario D. N. I. C., quibus mediantibus poteritis animam a manibus inimicorum liberare,

¹ Sermo primus.

² Job xix. 21.

³ ib. xix. 23.

et ad felicia regna, mediante contritione confessioneque, tutam et securam sine aliqua poena purgatorii perducere. Sciant quod in his literis impressa et sculpta sunt omnia ministeria Christi passionis ibi extenti. Animadvertant quod pro quolibet peccato mortali oportet per septem annos post confessionem et contritionem poenitere, vel in hac vita vel in purgatorio. Quot peccata mortalia committuntur in die, quot in hebdomada, quot in mense, quot in anno, quot toto tempore vitae? Fere infinita sunt, et infinitam poenam habent subire in ardentibus poenis purgatorii. Et cum his literis confessionalibus poteritis semel in vita, in omnibus casibus, quattuor exceptis Sedi Apostolicae reservatis, habere plenariam omnium poenarum usque tunc debitarum (remissionem). Deinde toto tempore vitae poteritis, quodcumque vultis confiteri, in casibus Papae non reservatis, etiam habere similem remissionem, et postea in articulo mortis plenariam omnium poenarum et peccatorum indulgentiam, et habere participationem omnium bonorum spiritualium, quae fiunt in militante Ecclesia et in membris eius.

Nonne cognoscitis, quod, si contingat aliquem in : Romam, vel ad alias periculosas partes, mittant pecunias suas in banco et ille pro quolibet centum dat quinque aut sex aut decem ut Romae vel alibi cum literis dicti banci securas rehabeat? Et vos non vultis pro quarta parte floreni recipere has literas, quarum virtute non pecunias sed animam divinam et immortalem tutam et securam ducere potestis ad patriam Paradisi? . . .

No. 9. A contemporary description of the proceedings.

He gained by his preaching in Germany an immense sum of money, all of which he sent to Rome; and especially at the new mining works at St. Annaberg, where I, Frederick Mecom, heard him for two years, a large sum was collected. It is incredible what this ignorant and impudent friar gave out. He said that if a Christian had slept with his mother, and placed the sum of money in the Pope's indulgence chest, the Pope had power in heaven and earth to forgive the sin, and, if he forgave it, God must do so also. Item, if they contributed readily and bought grace and indulgence, all the hills of St. Annaberg would become pure massive silver. Item, so soon as the coin rang in the chest, the soul for whom the money was paid, would go straightway to heaven. The indulgence was so highly prized, that when the commissary

entered a city, the Bull was borne on a satin or gold-embroidered cushion, and all the priests and monks, the town council, schoolmaster, scholars, men, women, maidens, and children, went out to meet him with banners and tapers, with songs and procession. Then all the bells were rung, all the organs played; he was conducted into the church, a red cross was erected in the midst of the church, and the Pope's banner displayed; in short, God himself could not have been welcomed and entertained with greater honour.

No. 10. A specimen grant by Tetzel.

Frater Iohannes Tetzel, ordinis Praedicatorum conventus Lipsiensis, S. T. B. ac haereticae pravitatis inquisitor, . . . dilecto nobis in Christo Tilemanno de Kopenick Brandenburgensis dioecesis, salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Exposuisti nobis, quod volebas suam percutere, in quo casu puer tuus te non vidente tibi appropinquavit, quem, percutiendo post suam, contra omnem voluntatem tuam cum infinita cordis tua tristitia, tetigisti et occidisti: de quo peccato ex intimis doles. Unde volens salutis animae tuae consulere, a nobis de opportuno absolutionis remedio tibi provideri humiliter postulari fecisti. Quocirca nos, qui salutem quorumlibet quaesivimus, te, qui nobiscum secundum vires tuas in commodum praefatae Fabricae compositionem fecisti, auctoritate Apostolica qua fungimur in hac parte, ab homicidio misericorditer absolvimus, teque eadem auctoritate per nos a dicto homicidio absolutum esse, per praesentes denunciamus literas. Mandamus etiam omnibus et singulis ad quos pervenerint, sub sententiis, censuris et poenis in literis facultatum nostrarum Apostolicarum contentis, ut fidem hisce tribuant, te plenissime absolutum esse statuunt, huiusque caedis nequaquam quisquam accuset. Ad fidem et testimonium, sigillum praefatae fabricae, quo ad huiusmodi utimur, impressimus. Datum Berlin, A.D. 1517, 5 Octobr. Anno quinto imperii S. D. N. Papae.

VII

THE NINETY-FIVE THESES, 1517

Tetzel was not allowed to preach the indulgence in the dominions of the Elector of Saxony; but he came to Jüterbog and Zerbst, within easy reach of Wittenberg. On 31 October 1517 Luther posted up [No. 11] **ninety-five theses** (Loescher, i. 438 sqq.) for disputation on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, the usual place for

notices of such University exercises. On the same day he sent a copy of them, with a covering [No. 12] letter, to Albert, Archbishop of Mainz (de Wette, *Luther's Briefe*, i. 67); and explained his position to the people in a [No. 13] Sermon on Indulgence and Grace (Loescher, i. 469 sqq.; tr. Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 367). He was confident that he had only to expose the evil attendant upon the sale of indulgences to get it removed. 'In iis certus mihi videbar me habiturum patronum Papam, cuius fiducia tam fortiter nitebar, qui in suis decretis clarissime damnat quaestorum (ita vocat indulgentiarios praedicatores) immodestiam.' *Lutheri Praef. ad Opera*: 5 Mart. 1545.

No. II. Luther's Theses.

Disputatio D. Martini Luther Theologi, pro declaratione virtutis Indulgentiarum.

Amore et studio elucidandae veritatis haec subscripta disputabuntur Wittenbergae, praesidente R. P. Martino Luther, Artium et S. Theologiae Magistro, eiusdemque ibidem lectore ordinario. Quare petit ut qui non possunt verbis praesentes nobiscum disceptare, agant id literis absentes. In nomine D. N. I. C. Amen.

1. Dominus et magister noster Iesus Christus, dicendo: Poenitentiam agite, &c., omnem vitam fidelium poenitentiam esse voluit.

2. Quod verbum de poenitentia sacramentali, id est confessionis et satisfactionis, quae sacerdotum ministerio celebratur, non potest intelligi.

3. Non tamen solam intendit interiorem, imo interior nulla est, nisi foris operetur varias carnis mortificationes.

4. Manet itaque poena, donec manet odium sui, id est, poenitentia vera intus, scilicet usque ad introitum regni coelorum.

5. Papa non vult nec potest ullas poenas remittere praeter eas quas arbitrio vel suo vel canonum imposuit.

6. Papa non potest remittere ullam culpam, nisi declarando et approbando remissam a Deo, aut certe remittendo casus reservatos sibi, quibus contemptis culpa prorsus remaneret.

7. Nulli prorsus remittit Deus culpam, quin simul eum subiiciat humiliatum in omnibus sacerdoti suo vicario.

8. Canones poenitentiales solum viventibus sunt impositi, nihilque morituris secundum eosdem debet imponi.

9. Inde bene nobis facit Spiritus sanctus in papa, excipiendo in suis decretis semper articulum mortis et necessitatis.

10. Indocte et male faciunt sacerdotes ii, qui morituris poenitentias canonicas in purgatorium reservant.

11. Zizania illa de mutanda poena canonica in poenam purgatorii videntur certe dormientibus episcopis seminata.

12. Olim poenae canonicae non post sed ante absolutionem imponebantur, tanquam tentamenta verae contritionis.

13. Morituri per mortem omnia solvunt, et legibus canonum mortui iam sunt, habentes iure earum relaxationem.

14. Imperfecta sanitas seu caritas morituri necessario secum fert magnum timorem, tantoque maiorem quanto minor fuerit ipsa.

15. Hic timor et horror satis est se solo, ut alia taceam, facere poenam purgatorii, cum sit proximus desperationis horrori.

16. Videntur infernus purgatorium coelum differre, sicut desperatio, prope desperatio, securitas differunt.

17. Necessarium videtur animabus in purgatorio sicut minui horrorem, ita augeri caritatem.

18. Nec probatum videtur ullis aut rationibus aut scripturis, quod sint certum meritum seu augendae caritatis.

19. Nec hoc probatum esse videtur, quod sint de sua beatitudine certae et securae, saltem omnes, licet nos certissimii simus.

20. Igitur papa per remissionem plenariam omnium poenarum non simpliciter omnium intelligit, sed a se ipso tantummodo impositarum.

21. Errant itaque indulgentiarum praedicatores ii qui dicunt per papae indulgentias hominem ab omni poena solvi et salvari.

22. Quin nullam remittit animabus in purgatorio, quam in hac vita debuissent secundum canones solvere.

23. Si remissio ulla omnium omnino poenarum potest alicui dari, certum est eam non nisi perfectissimis, id est, paucissimis dari.

24. Falli ob id necesse est maiorem partem populi, per indifferentem illam et magnificam poenae solutae promissionem.

25. Qualem potestatem habet papa in purgatorium generaliter, talem habet quilibet episcopus et curatus in sua diocesi et parochia specialiter.

26. Optime facit papa, quod non potestate clavis (quam nullam habet) sed per modum suffragii dat animabus remissionem.

27. Hominem praedicant, qui statim, ut iactus nummus in cistam tinnierit, evolare dicunt animam.

28. Certum est nummo in cista tinniente augeri quaestum et

avaritiam posse, suffragium autem ecclesiae est in arbitrio Dei solius.

29. Quis scit, si omnes animae in purgatorio velint redimi, sicut de S. Severino et Paschali factum narratur?

30. Nullus securus est de veritate suae contritionis, multo minus de consecutione plenariae remissionis.

31. Quam rarus est vere poenitens, tam rarus est vere indulgentias redimens, id est, rarissimus.

32. Damnabuntur in aeternum cum suis magistris, qui per literas veniarum securos sese credunt de sua salute.

33. Cavendi sunt nimis, qui dicunt venias illas papae donum esse illud Dei inaeestimabile, quo reconciliatur homo Deo.

34. Gratiae enim illae veniales tantum respiciunt poenas satisfactionis sacramentalis ab homine constitutas.

35. Non Christiana praedicant, qui docent, quod redempturis animas vel confessionalia non sit necessaria contritio.

36. Quilibet Christianus vere compunctus habet remissionem plenariam a poena et culpa, etiam sine literis veniarum, sibi debitam.

37. Quilibet verus Christianus, sive vivus sive mortuus, habet participationem omnium bonorum Christi et ecclesiae, etiam sine literis veniarum, a Deo sibi datam.

38. Remissio tamen et participatio papae nullo modo est contemnenda, quia, ut dixi, est declaratio remissionis divinae.

39. Difficillimum est etiam doctissimis theologis, simul extollere veniarum largitatem et contritionis veritatem coram populo.

40. Contritionis veritas poenas quaerit et amat, veniarum autem largitas relaxat, et odisse facit, saltem occasione.

41. Caute sunt veniae apostolicae praedicandae, ne populus false intelligat, eas praeferi caeteris bonis operibus caritatis.

42. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod papae mens non est, redemptionem veniarum ulla ex parte comparandam esse operibus misericordiae.

43. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod dans pauperi aut mutuans egenti melius facit quam si venias redimeret.

44. Quia per opus caritatis crescit caritas et fit homo melior, sed per venias non fit melior, sed tantummodo a poena liberior.

45. Docendi sunt Christiani quod, qui videt egenum, et neglecto eo dat pro veniis, non indulgentias papae, sed indignationem Dei sibi vindicat.

46. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod nisi superfluis abundant,

necessaria tenentur domui suae retinere, et nequaquam propter venias effundere.

47. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod redemptio veniarum est libera, non praecepta.

48. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod papa sicut magis eget, ita magis optat in veniis dandis pro se devotam orationem, quam promptam pecuniam.

49. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod veniae papae sunt utiles, si non in eas confidant, sed nocentissimae, si timorem Dei per eas amittant.

50. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod si papa nosset exactiones venialium praedicatorum, mallet basilicam S. Petri in cineres ire, quam aedificari cute, carne et ossibus ovium suarum.

51. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod papa, sicut debet, ita vellet, etiam vendita, si opus sit, basilica S. Petri de suis pecuniis dare illis, a quorum plurimis quidam concionatores veniarum pecuniam eliciunt.

52. Vana est fiducia salutis per literas veniarum, etiamsi commissarius, imo papa ipse suam animam pro illis impignoraret.

53. Hostes Christi et papae sunt ii, qui propter venias praedicandas verbum Dei in aliis ecclesiis penitus silere iubent.

54. Iniuria fit verbo Dei, dum in eodem sermone aequale vel longius tempus impenditur veniis quam illi.

55. Mens papae necessario est, quod, si veniae, quod minimum est, una campana, unis pompis et caerimoniis celebrantur, evangelium, quod maximum est, centum campanis, centum pompis, centum caerimoniis praedicetur.

56. Thesauri ecclesiae, unde papa dat indulgentias, neque satis nominati sunt, neque cogniti apud populum Christi.

57. Temporales certe non esse patet, quod non tam facile eos profundunt, sed tantummodo colligunt multi concionatorum.

58. Nec sunt merita Christi et sanctorum, quia haec semper sine papa operantur gratiam hominis interioris, et crucem, mortem, infernumque exterioris.

59. Thesaurus ecclesiae S. Laurentius dixit esse pauperes ecclesiae, sed locutus est usu vocabuli suo tempore.

60. Sine temeritate dicimus, claves ecclesiae, merito Christi donatas, esse thesaurum istum.

61. Clarum est enim, quod ad remissionem poenarum et casuum sola sufficit potestas papae.

62. Verus thesaurus ecclesiae est sacrosanctum evangelium gloriae et gratiae Dei.

63. Hic autem est merito odiosissimus, quia ex primis facit novissimos.

64. Thesaurus autem indulgentiarum merito est gratissimus, quia ex novissimis facit primos.

65. Igitur thesauri evangelici retia sunt, quibus olim piscabantur viros divitiarum.

66. Thesauri indulgentiarum retia sunt, quibus nunc piscantur divitias virorum.

67. Indulgentiae, quas concionatores vociferantur maximas gratias, intelliguntur vere tales quoad quaestum promovendum.

68. Sunt tamen revera minime ad gratiam Dei et crucis pietatem comparatae.

69. Tenentur episcopi et curati veniarum apostolicarum commissarios cum omni reverentiamittere.

70. Sed magis tenentur omnibus oculis intendere, omnibus auribus advertere, ne pro commissione papae sua illi somnia praedicent.

71. Contra veniarum apostolicarum veritatem qui loquitur, sit ille anathema et maledictus.

72. Qui vero contra libidinem ac licentiam verborum concionatoris veniarum curam agit, sit ille benedictus.

73. Sicut papa iuste fulminat eos, qui in fraudem negotii veniarum quacunque arte machinantur,

74. Multo magis fulminare intendit eos, qui per veniarum praetextum in fraudem sanctae caritatis et veritatis machinantur.

75. Opinari venias papales tantas esse ut solvere possint hominem, etiamsi quis per impossibile Dei genitricem violasset, est insanire.

76. Dicimus contra quod veniae papales nec minimum veniarum peccatorum tollere possint, quoad culpam.

77. Quod dicitur, nec si S. Petrus modo papa esset, maiores gratias donare posset, est blasphemia in S. Petrum et papam.

78. Dicimus contra, quod etiam iste et quilibet papa maiores habet, scilicet evangelium, virtutes, gratias curationum, &c. ut I Cor. xii.

79. Dicere crucem armis papalibus insigniter erectam cruci Christi aequivalere, blasphemia est.

80. Rationem reddent episcopi, curati, et theologi, qui tales sermones in populum licere sinunt.

81. Facit haec licentiosa veniarum praedicatio, ut nec reverentiam papae facile sit, etiam doctis viris, redimere a calumniis aut certe argutis quaestionibus laicorum.

82. Scilicet, cur papa non evacuat purgatorium propter sanctissimam caritatem et summam animarum necessitatem, ut causam omnium iustissimam, si infinitas animas redimit propter pecuniam funestissimam ad structuram basilicae, ut causam levissimam?

83. Item, cur permanent exsequiae et anniversaria defunctorum, et non reddit, aut recipi permittit beneficia pro illis instituta, cum iam sit iniuria pro redemptis orare?

84. Item, quae illa nova pietas Dei et papae, quod impio et inimico propter pecuniam concedunt animam piam et amicam Dei redimere, et tamen propter necessitatem ipsiusmet piaee et dilectae animae non redimunt eam gratuita caritate?

85. Item, cur canones poenitentiales re ipsa et non usu iamdiu in semet abrogati et mortui, adhuc tamen pecuniis redimuntur per concessionem indulgentiarum tanquam vivacissimi?

86. Item, cur papa, cuius opes hodie sunt opulentissimis Crassis crassiores, non de suis pecuniis magis quam pauperum fidelium, struit unam tantummodo basilicam S. Petri?

87. Item, quid remittit aut participat papa iis, qui per contritionem perfectam ius habent plenariae remissionis et participationis?

88. Item, quid adderetur ecclesiae boni maioris, si papa, sicut semel facit, ita centies in die cuilibet fidelium has remissiones et participationes tribueret?

89. Ex quo papa salutem quaerit animarum per venias magis quam pecunias, cur suspendit literas et venias iam olim concessas, cum sint aequae efficaces?

90. Hae scrupulosissima laicorum argumenta sola potestate compescere, nec reddita ratione diluere, est ecclesiam et papam hostibus ridendos exponere, et infelices Christianos facere.

91. Si ergo veniae secundum spiritum et mentem papae praedicarentur, facile illa omnia solverentur, imo non essent.

92. Valeant itaque omnes illi prophetae, qui dicunt populo Christi 'Pax, pax', et non est pax.

93. Bene agant omnes illi prophetae, qui dicunt populo Christi 'Crux, crux', et non est crux.

94. Exhortandi sunt Christiani, ut caput suum Christum per poenas, mortes, infernosque sequi studeant.

95. Ac sic magis per multas tribulationes intrare coelum quam per securitatem pacis confidant.

No. 12. Luther's Letter to Albert of Mainz.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, Illustrissimo Domino, Domino Alberto, Magdeburgensis ac Moguntinensis Ecclesiae Archiepiscopo Primati, Marchioni Brandenburgensi, &c. Domino suo et Pastori in Christo, venerabiliter metuendo, ac gratiosissimo.

Gratiam et misericordiam Dei et quicquid potest et est, Parce mihi, reverendissime in Christo Pater, Princeps illustrissime, quod ego fex hominum tantum habeo temeritatis, ut ad culmen tuae Sublimitatis ausus fuerim cogitare epistolam. Testis est mihi Dominus Jesus, quod meae parvitatibus et turpitudinis mihi conscius diu iam distuli, quod nunc perfricta fronte perficio, permotus quam maxime officio fidelitatis meae, quam tuae reverendissimae Paternitati in Christo debere me agnosco. Dignetur itaque tua interim Celsitudo oculum ad pulverem unum intendere, et votum meum pro tua et pontificali clementia intelligere.

Circumferuntur indulgentiae papales sub tuo praeclarissimo titulo ad fabricam S. Petri, in quibus non adeo accuso praedicatorum exclamationes, quas non audiui, sed doleo falsissimas intelligentias populi ex illis conceptas, quas vulgo undique iactant, videlicet, quod credunt infelices animae, si literas indulgentiarum redemerint, quod securi sint de salute sua; item, quod animae de purgatorio statim evolent, ubi contributionem in cistam coniecerint: deinde, tantas esse has gratias ut nullum sit adeo magnum peccatum, etiam (ut aiunt) si per impossibile quis matrem Dei violasset, quin possit solvi; item, quod homo per istas indulgentias liber sit ab omni poenae et culpa.

O Deus optime, sic erudiuntur animae tuis curis, optime Pater, commissae ad mortem, et fit atque crescit durissima ratio tibi reddenda super omnibus istis. Idcirco tacere super haec amplius non potui. Non enim fit homo per ullum munus episcopi securus de salute, cum nec per gratiam Dei infusam fiat securus, sed semper in timore et tremore iubet nos operari salutem nostram Apostolus: et iustus vix salvabitur: denique tam arcta est via quae ducit ad vitam ut Dominus per Prophetas Amos et Zachariam salvandos appellet torres raptas de incendio, et ubique Dominus difficultatem salutis denunciet.

Quomodo ergo per illas falsas veniarum fabulas et promissiones faciunt populum securum et sine timore? Cum indulgentiae prorsus nihil boni conferant animabus ad salutem aut

sanctitatem, sed tantummodo poenam externam, olim canonice imponi solitam, auferant.

Denique opera pietatis et charitatis sunt in infinitum meliora indulgentiis, et tamen haec non tanta pompa nec tanto studio praedicant : imo propter venias praedicandas illa tacent : cum tamen omnium Episcoporum hoc sit officium primum et solum ut populus Evangelium discat atque charitatem Christi. Nusquam enim praecepit Christus indulgentias praedicari, sed Evangelium vehementer praecipit praedicari. Quantus ergo horror est, quantum periculum Episcopi, si, tacito Evangelio, non nisi strepitus indulgentiarum permittat in populum suum, et has plus curet quam Evangelium ? Nonne dicit illis Christus : colantes culicem et glutientes camelum ?

Accedit ad haec, reverendissime Pater in Domino, quod in instructione illa Commissariorum, sub T. R. Paternitatis nomine edita, dicitur (utique sine tuae Paternitatis reverendissimae et scientia et consensu) unam principalium gratiarum esse donum illud Dei inaeestimabile quo reconcilietur homo Deo : et omnes poenae delentur purgatorii : item, quod non sit necessaria contritio iis qui animas vel confessionalia redimunt.

Sed quid faciam, optime Praesul et illustrissime Princeps, nisi quod per Dominum Iesum Christum T. R. Paternitatem orem, quatenus oculum paternae curae dignetur advertere, et eundem libellum penitus tollere, et praedicatoribus veniarum imponere aliam praedicandi formam : ne forte aliquis tandem exurgat, qui editis libellis et illos et libellum illum confutet, ad vituperium summum illustrissimae tuae Sublimitatis. Quod ego vehementer quidem fieri abhorreo, et tamen futurum timeo, nisi cito succurratur.

Haec meae parvitatibus fidelia officia, rogo, tua illustrissima Gratia dignetur accipere modo principali et episcopali, id est, clementissimo : sicut ego ea exhibeo corde fidelissimo et T. P. R. deditissimo : sum enim et ego pars ovilis tui. Dominus Iesus custodiat T. R. Paternitatem in aeternum. Amen. Ex Wittenberga, in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum, anno MDXVII.

Si tuae reverendissimae P. placet, poterit has meas disputationes videre, ut intelligat, quam dubia res sit indulgentiarum opinio, quam illi ut certissimam somniant.

Indignus filius.

Martinus Luther, Augustin. Doctor S. Theol. vocatus.

sanctitatem, sed tantummodo poenam externam, olim canonice imponi solitam, auferant.

Denique opera pietatis et charitatis sunt in infinitum meliora indulgentiis, et tamen haec non tanta pompa nec tanto studio praedicant: imo propter venias praedicandas illa tacent: cum tamen omnium Episcoporum hoc sit officium primum et solum ut populus Evangelium discat atque charitatem Christi. Nusquam enim praecepit Christus indulgentias praedicari, sed Evangelium vehementer praecipit praedicari. Quantus ergo horror est, quantum periculum Episcopi, si, tacito Evangelio, non nisi strepitus indulgentiarum permittat in populum suum, et has plus curet quam Evangelium? Nonne dicet illis Christus: colantes culicem et glutientes camelum?

Accedit ad haec, reverendissime Pater in Domino, quod in instructione illa Commissariorum, sub T. R. Paternitatis nomine edita, dicitur (utique sine tuae Paternitatis reverendissimae et scientia et consensu) unam principalium gratiarum esse donum illud Dei inaeestimabile quo reconciliatur homo Deo: et omnes poenae delentur purgatorii: item, quod non sit necessaria contritio iis qui animas vel confessionalia redimunt.

Sed quid faciam, optime Praesul et illustrissima Princeps, nisi quod per Dominum Iesum Christum T. R. Paternitatem orem, quatenus oculum paternae curae dignetur advertere, et eundem libellum penitus tollere, et praedicatoribus veniarum imponere aliam praedicandi formam: ne forte aliquis tandem exurgat, qui editis libellis et illos et libellum illum confutet, ad vituperium summum illustrissimae tuae Sublimitatis. Quod ego vehementer quidem fieri abhorreo, et tamen futurum timeo, nisi cito succurratur.

Haec meae parvitatibus fidelia officia, rogo, tua illustrissima Gratia dignetur accipere modo principali et episcopali, id est, clementissimo: sicut ego ea exhibeo corde fidelissimo et T. P. R. deditissimo: sum enim et ego pars ovilis tui. Dominus Iesus custodiat T. R. Paternitatem in aeternum. Amen. Ex Wittenberga, in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum, anno MDXVII.

Si tuae reverendissimae P. placet, poterit has meas disputationes videre, ut intelligat, quam dubia res sit indulgentiarum opinio, quam illi ut certissimam somniant.

Indignus filius.

Martinus Luther, Augustin. Doctor S. Theol. vocatus.

sanctitatem, sed tantummodo poenam externam, olim canonice imponi solitam, auferant.

Denique opera pietatis et charitatis sunt in infinitum meliora indulgentiis, et tamen haec non tanta pompa nec tanto studio praedicant: imo propter venias praedicandas illa tacent: cum tamen omnium Episcoporum hoc sit officium primum et solum ut populus Evangelium discat atque charitatem Christi. Nusquam enim praecepit Christus indulgentias praedicari, sed Evangelium vehementer praecipit praedicari. Quantus ergo horror est, quantum periculum Episcopi, si, tacito Evangelio, non nisi strepitus indulgentiarum permittat in populum suum, et has plus curet quam Evangelium? Nonne dicet illis Christus: colantes culicem et glutientes camelum?

Accedit ad haec, reverendissime Pater in Domino, quod in instructione illa Commissariorum, sub T. R. Paternitatis nomine edita, dicitur (utique sine tuae Paternitatis reverendissimae et scientia et consensu) unam principalium gratiarum esse donum illud Dei inaestinabile quo reconcilietur homo Deo: et omnes poenae delentur purgatorii: item, quod non sit necessaria contritio iis qui animas vel confessionalia redimunt.

Sed quid faciam, optime Praesul et illustrissime Princeps, nisi quod per Dominum Iesum Christum T. R. Paternitatem orem, quatenus oculum paternae curae dignetur advertere, et eundem libellum penitus tollere, et praedicatoribus veniarum imponere aliam praedicandi formam: ne forte aliquis tandem exurgat, qui editis libellis et illos et libellum illum confutet, ad vituperium summum illustrissimae tuae Sublimitatis. Quod ego vehementer quidem fieri abhorreo, et tamen futurum timeo, nisi cito succurratur.

Haec meae parvitatibus fidelia officia, rogo, tua illustrissima Gratia dignetur accipere modo principali et episcopali, id est, clementissimo: sicut ego ea exhibeo corde fidelissimo et T. P. R. deditissimo: sum enim et ego pars ovilis tui. Dominus Iesus custodiat T. R. Paternitatem in aeternum. Amen. Ex Wittenberga, in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum, anno MDXVII.

Si tuae reverendissimae P. placet, poterit has meas disputationes videre, ut intelligat, quam dubia res sit indulgentiarum opinio, quam illi ut certissimam somniant.

Indignus filius.

Martinus Luther, Augustin. Doctor S. Theol. vocatus.

No. 13. Luther's Sermon on Indulgence and Grace.

First you ought to know that some modern teachers such as the Master of the Sentences, S. Thomas [Aquinas] and their followers, divide Penance into three parts, namely Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction: and although this distinction, according to their meaning, was found to be hardly or not at all grounded upon Holy Scripture, nor upon the early fathers of the Church, yet we are willing to let it stand and to speak after their fashion . . .

Sixth . . . it cannot be proved from any Scripture that divine justice requires or desires any other punishment or satisfaction from the sinner than his hearty and true repentance and conversion, with a resolution henceforth to bear the cross of Christ and practise the good works before-mentioned, also imposed on him by no man . . .

Ninth, if the Church were at this day to decide and declare that indulgence made more satisfaction than works, still it were a thousand-fold better, that no Christian man should purchase or desire the indulgence, but rather perform the works and suffer the loss . . .

Fourteenth, indulgence is allowed for the sake of imperfect and slothful Christians, who will not exercise themselves industriously in good works or are impatient. For indulgence improves no man, but only tolerates and allows his imperfection. So men should not speak against indulgence, but neither should they persuade any one to take it . . .

VIII

THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING INDULGENCES,

1518

After a sermon (Loescher, i. 484) in refutation of Luther's on indulgence and grace, Tetzel published in 1517 [No. 14] **two** disputations (*ibid.* i. 504), one for the degree of Licentiate, the other for the degree of Doctor, in Divinity, which he received from the University of Frankfort-on-Oder. Both were composed for him by Conrad Wimpina, 1465-†1531, Professor of Theology there. Then Silvestro Mazzolini, 1460-†1523, of Priorio, a Dominican, who became Sacri Palatii Magister to Leo X in 1515, entered the

lists against Luther Dec. 1517 with his [No. 15] *Dialogus de potestate Papae* (Loescher, ii. 12 sqq. *Lutheri Opera Latina Varii Argumenti*, i. 344 sqq. Erlangae, 1865). The controversy was thus given a wider range.

No. 14. Tetzel's two Disputations.

Prima Disputatio Io. Tetzelii.

3. Quisquis ergo dicit Christum, dum praedicavit 'Poenitentiam agite', sic voluisse poenitentiam interiorem et exterioriorem carnis mortificationem,

4. Ut non etiam docere vel cointelligere potuerit poenitentiae Sacramentum eiusque partes, confessionem et satisfactionem, tanquam obligatorias, errat. Imo nihil nunc iuvat, si interior poena etiam operetur exteriori mortificationem, nisi adsit factio vel voto confessio et satisfactio.

5. Haec satisfactio (cum Deus delictum absque ultione non patiatur) per poenam fit, vel aequivalens, in acceptione divina.

6. Quae vel a presbyteris imponitur, arbitro vel canone, vel nonnunquam a iustitia divina exigitur hic vel in Purgatorio dissolvenda.

11. Hanc poenam, ob peccata contrita et confessa impositam, potest Papa per Indulgentias penitus relaxare.

13. Sed licet per Indulgentias omnis poena in dispositis remittatur, quae est pro peccatis debita, ut eorum est vindictiva;

14. Errat tamen qui ob id tolli putet poenam, quae est medicativa et preservativa, cum contra hanc Iubileus non ordinetur.

15. Quantumvis ergo aliquis sit per Indulgentias vere et totaliter relaxatus, quod fieri posse in dispositis qui negat, errat;

16. Nullatenus tamen debet intermittere opera satisfactoria, quoad vixerit, quando sunt reliquiarum curativa et a futuris praeservativa et meritoria.

30. . . . minima contritio, quae potest in fine vitae contingere,

31. Sufficiat ad peccatorum remissionem ac poenae aeternae in temporalem mutationem.

64. Non esse Christianum dogma, quod redempturi pro amicis confessionalia vel purgandis Iubileum possint haec facere absque contritione, error

Disputatio secunda Io. Tetzeli.

Docendi sunt Christiani

1. Ex quo in Ecclesia potestas Papae est suprema et a solo Deo instituta, quod a nullo puro homine, nec a toto simul mundo potest restringi aut ampliari, sed a solo Deo.

2. Quod Papae in eos omnes immediatam iurisdictionem habenti . . . simpliciter obedire tenentur.

3. Quod Papa iurisdictionis auctoritate superior tota universali Ecclesia et concilio, quodque statutis suis humiliter sit obediendum.

4. Quod Papa ea, quae fidei sunt, solus habet determinare, quodque sacrae scripturae sensus ipse auctoritative, et nullus alius, pro suo sensu, interpretatur, et quod aliorum omnia dicta vel opera habet vel approbare vel reprobare.

5. Quod iudicium Papae in his, quae sunt fidei, et ad humanam salutem necessaria, errare potest minime.

12. Quod claves Ecclesiae non universali Ecclesiae . . . sed Petro et Papae et in eis omnibus eorum successoribus et universis Praelatis futuris per derivationem eorum in ipsos sunt collatae.

No. 15. Prierias' Dialogus de potestate Papae.

Tuum dogma ad examissim cribraturus, Martine mi, normas et fundamenta iaciam, necesse est.

Fundamentum primum.

Ecclesia universalis essentialiter est convocatio in divinum cultum omnium credentium in Christum. Ecclesia vero universalis virtualiter est ecclesia Romana, ecclesiarum omnium caput, et Pontifex maximus. Ecclesia Romana repraesentative est collegium Cardinalium, virtualiter autem est Pontifex summus, qui est ecclesiae caput, aliter tamen quam Christus.

Fundamentum secundum.

Sicut ecclesia universalis non potest errare determinando de fide aut moribus, ita et verum concilium, faciens quod in se est ut intelligat veritatem, errare non potest . . . et similiter nec ecclesia Romana nec Pontifex summus determinans ea ratione qua Pontifex, id est, ex officio suo pronuncians, et faciens quod in se est ut intelligat veritatem.

Fundamentum tertium.

Quicumque non innititur doctrinae Romanae ecclesiae ac

Romani Pontificis, tanquam regulæ fidei infallibili, a qua etiam Sacra Scriptura robur trahit et auctoritatem, hæreticus est.

Fundamentum quartum.

Ecclesia Romana sicut verbo ita et facto potest circa fidem et mores aliquid decernere. Nec in hoc differentia ulla est, præter id quod verba sunt accommodatiora quam facta. Unde hac ratione consuetudo vim legis obtinet, quia voluntas principis factis permissive aut effective exprimitur. Et consequenter, quemadmodum hæreticus est male sentiens circa Scripturarum veritatem, ita et male sentiens circa doctrinam et facta ecclesiæ, in spectantibus ad fidem et mores, hæreticus est.

Corolla.

Qui circa indulgentias dicit ecclesiam Romanam non posse facere id quod de facto facit hæreticus est . . .

IX

CAJETAN, 1518.

Luther put an end to his dispute with Tetzel by his *Freiheit des Sermons D. M. L. papslliken Ablass und Gnade belangend* (Loescher, i. 525 sqq.) in June 1518, and to that with Prierias by his *Responsio ad Sylv. Prieratis Dialogum* (ib. ii. 390 sqq., and *Lutheri Op. Lat.* ii. 6 sqq.) of August 1518 (Letter of 21 Aug. 1518, de Wette, i. 133). Here he appeals to 'illud B. Augustini ad Hieronymum¹: "Ego solis eis libris, qui canonici appellantur, hunc honorem deferre didici, ut nullum scriptorem eorum errasse firmissime credam,"' and rejects the appeal of Prierias to 'solas opiniones divi Thomæ . . . qui æque (ut tu) nudis verbis incedit, sine scriptura, sine patribus, sine canonibus, denique sine ullis rationibus'. Meanwhile, Roman judges, Prierias amongst them, had been appointed; and Luther received, 7 Aug., a citation to Rome. But the Elector intervened (Loescher, ii. 445) in favour of a trial on German soil, with the result that his case was committed to Cardinal Thomas de Vio, of Gaeta, called Cajetan, 1468-1534, the ablest living Thomist, and now in attendance as Legate on the Emperor Maximilian's, 1493-1519, last Diet at Augsburg. In the interval Luther had completed and sent, under covering letters, to his bishop² (Letter of 22 May, de Wette, i. 112), to Staupitz (Letter of 30 May, de Wette, i. 115), to Pope Leo X (Letter of 30 May, de Wette, i. 119), and to the Elector through Spalatin (Letter of 21 Aug., de Wette, i. 132), a detailed elucidation of the Ninety-five Theses, entitled *Resolutiones Disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute* (Loescher, ii. 183 sqq.; and *Lutheri Op. Lat.* ii. 137 sqq.), where, in the comment on Thesis 7,

¹ Aug. *Epist.* lxxxii. § 3.

² Hieronymus Scultetus (Schultz), Bishop of Brandenburg, 1507-20.

he rejects the 'usitatam sententiam . . . qua dicitur sacramenta novae legis iustificantem gratiam dare illis qui non ponunt obicem, cum sit impossibile sacramentum conferri salubriter nisi iam credentibus et iustis et dignis. Oportet enim accedentem credere. Deinde non sacramentum, sed fides sacramenti iustificat'. He arrived at Augsburg 7 Oct.; and thrice, 12, 13, 14 Oct. [No. 16] appeared before the Legate (*Lutheri Op. Lat. ii. 369 sq.*); who, though, as Luther believed, he had received instructions, 'ut dictum Martinum haereticum ad personaliter coram te comparendum, invocato . . . saecularium brachio, cogas' (Letter of Leo X, 23 Aug., *ibid. ii. 355*), received him 'satis clementer', but demanded a recantation. Luther replied with a protestation, 13 Oct., an [No. 17] answer (*ibid. ii. 372 sqq.*) submitted on 14 Oct.; and (*ibid. ii. 371*) an [No. 18] appeal to Leo X (*ibid. ii. 397 sqq.*) 16 Oct. On 20 Oct. he left Augsburg; arrived at Wittenberg 31 Oct., where he published in November the *Acta Augustana*, or Minutes of the Augsburg Conference (*Lutheri Op. Lat. ii. 367 sqq.*).

No. 16. Luther's account of his interview with Cajetan.

Veni Augustam,¹ susceptusque fui² a R. D. Cardinale Legato satis clementer ac prope reverentius. Hic ubi se nolle mecum disputare dixisset, sed suaviter et paterne rem componere, tria mihi de mandato D. papae (ut asserebat) facienda proposuit: (1) ad eor redirem erratusque meos revocarem, (2) promitterem in futurum abstinere ab eisdem, (3) et ab omnibus quibus Ecclesia perturbari possit. Ego . . . mox petii doceri in quibus errassem, me non esse mihi conscium ullius erroris. Tunc protulit Extravagantem Clementis VI, quae incipit: Unigenitus &c., quod contra eam asseruissem Propositione 58: Non esse merita Christi indulgentiarum thesaurum. Urgebat itaque, ut revocarem . . . Secundo, obiecit quod Propositione 7 inter declarandum docueram, Necessarium esse fidem accessuro ad sacramentum, aut in iudicium accessurum. Hanc enim novam et erroneam doctrinam putari voluit, sed potius incertum esse omnem accedentem, gratiam consequeretur, necne . . .

Respondi tunc, Mihi non solum istam Clementis esse diligenter visam, sed et alteram eius aemulam . . . Sixti quarti . . ., verum non habuisse eam apud me satis auctoritatis, cum aliis multis tum ea maxime causa quod scripturis sanctis abutitur . . . Ideo scripturas, quas ego in Propositione mea sequor, esse ei praeferendas omnino, ac nihil inde probari, sed recitari duntaxat ac narrari opinionem S. Thomae.

¹ 7 Oct.

² 12 Oct.

Tunc coepit adversus me potestatem papae commendare, quoniam supra concilium, supra scripturam, supra omnia ecclesiae sit. Et ut illud persuaderet, reprobationem et abrogationem concilii Basiliensis recitavit, ac Gersonistas quoque una cum Gersone damnandos censuit.

Haec ut erant nova in auribus meis, negavi contra, papam supra concilium, supra scripturam esse. Deinde et Universitatis Parrhisiensis appellationem commendavi, multaque confusa interlocutione de poenitentia, de gratia Dei miscebamus. Nam alteram illam objectionem cum dolore audiui, nihil enim minus timuissem quam hanc rem in dubium vocandam aliquando. Ita in nulla propemodum re conveniebamus. Sed ut altera alteram inveniebat (ut fit), ita semper nova surgebat contradictio . . .

Altera die¹ . . . adductis notario et testibus, protestabar proprie et personaliter [*Hic sequitur protestatio*] . . . Quo facto, repetiit disputationem hesternam de objectione priore . . . Me vero tacente et iuxta protestationem in scriptis respondere promittente . . . admissa scriptili responsione abitum est . . .

Quae cum altera die² obtulissem, primo contempsit et verba esse, missurum tamen ea ad Urbem sese dixit, interim ad revocationem urgebat, intentans censuras sibi demandatas, ac nisi revocarem, abirem, et non redirem in conspectum suum . . .

Igitur accepto mandato non redeundi . . . praesertim cum antea iactasset sese habere mandatum ut . . . me . . . incarceraret, disposita appellatione affigenda recessi³ . . .

No. 17. Luther's answer to Cajetan.

Quam non detrectem respondere . . . de singulis . . . meis dictis, reverendissime in Christo Pater, ut objectionibus satisfaciam, quas heri et nudius mihi obiectas memini, hac volui epistola humiliter protestari. Nam duo sunt quae mihi sunt a P. T. R. obiecta. Primum, Extravagans illa Clemen. VI quae incipit: Unigenitus &c., in qua thesaurus indulgentiarum asseri videtur esse merita Christi et Sanctorum, quod ego in positionibus meis videor negare.

Respondeo itaque: Non fuit mihi incognita Extravagans illa, cum istas meditationes meas meditabar, sed cum certissimus essem unanque totius ecclesiae sententiam esse scirem, merita Christi in spiritu non posse committi hominibus, nec tradi per homines aut ab hominibus, sicut tamen Extravagans ista sonare

¹ 13 Oct.

² 14 Oct.

³ 20 Oct.

videbatur, volui intactam relinquere, aliisque ingeniis melioribus committere magnas illas molestias et angustias, quas pro tuenda papae reverentia patiebar.

Occurrebat enim et movebat primo quod nuda essent verba pontificis, et adversus contentiosum vel haeticum invalidum praesidium; deinde, si quis diceret, turpe esse principem loqui sine lege et, iuxta Zachariam, non verba hominis sed legem Dei requirendam ex ore sacerdotis; item, quod verba scripturae torquet, et in alienum sensum eis abutitur, nam quae de gratia iustificante dicta sunt ad indulgentias trahit, quo videbatur magis narrare et magis opinione quadam pia exhortari, quam solida demonstratione aliquid probare.

Vexabat etiam, quod fieri posse constat, Decretales aliquando erroneas esse, et contra sacras literas et caritatem militare. Nam licet Decretales Romanorum Pontificum tanquam vocem Petri oportet audire, ut dicitur dist. 19, tamen hoc ipsum intelligitur de iis solum (ut dicitur ibidem) quae consonae sunt sacrae scripturae, et a prioribus patrum decretis non dissentiant.¹

Accessit ad hoc, quod de facto Petrus non incedens ad veritatem evangelii reprehensus est a Paulo, Gal. ii. Ideo non mirum videri, si successor eius in aliquo defecerit, quandoquidem et Actorum xv doctrina Petri non fuit suscepta, donec accederet et approbatio Iacobi minoris, episcopi Hierosolymitani, et totius ecclesiae consensus, unde fluxisse videtur id iuris dogma legem tunc firmari quando utentium moribus approbatur.

Praeterea, quam multae Decretales priores correctae sunt per posteriores. Ideoque et hanc forte pro tempore suo corrigi posse Panormitanus quoque, lib. i de elect. c. Significasti,² ostendit in materia fidei non modo generale concilium esse super papam sed etiam quemlibet fidelem, si melioribus nitatur auctoritate et ratione quam papa, sicut Petro Paulus, Gal. ii. Quod et illo 1 Cor. xiv confirmatur, Si fuerit alteri sedenti revelatum, prior taceat. Ideo sic vocem Petri esse audiendam, ut tamen liberior sit vox Pauli cum redarguentis, porro omnium superior vox Christi.

Maxime vero laborabam, quod eadem Extravagans mani-

¹ *Decreti Prima Pars*, Dist. XIX, c. 7 ap. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, i. 62.

² Nicholas Tudeschi, 1386-†1445, Cardinal Archbishop of Palermo (Panormitanus), *Super iii libb. Decret.* 199 sqq. (ed. 1524) commenting on Decret. Greg. IX, lib. I, Tit. vi de electione, cap. 4 (Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ii. 49).

festissime mihi apparebat falsa quaedam continere. Primo, quod dicit merita sanctorum esse thesaurum, cum tota scriptura dicat, Deum ultra condignum praemiare, ut Rom. viii: Non sunt condignae passionis huius temporis. Et B. Augustinus lib. 1, retract. 19: Tota ecclesia usque in finem mundi orat: Dimitte nobis debita nostra. Ergo non superfluere aliis posse, quae nec sibi sufficerent. Inde virgines sapientes noluerunt oleum communicare insipientibus. . . Ideo sancti non suis meritis, sed sola Dei misericordia salvi fiunt, ut latius dixi in Resolutionibus.

Ego vero non eram tam insigni temeritate, ut propter unam decretalem pontificis hominis, tam ambiguam et obscuram, recederem a tot et tantis divinis scripturae testimoniis apertissimis, quin potius arbitrabar quam rectissime verba scripturae, quibus sancti describuntur deficere in meritis, incomparabiliter praefereunda verbis humanis, quibus scribuntur abundare, cum papa non super sed sub verbo Dei sit, iuxta illud Gal. i: Si angelus de caelo aliud vobis evangelizaverit quam accepistis, anathema sit. Iam illud quoque nonnihil erat, quod Petro hunc commissum thesaurum dicit, de quo nihil constat nec in evangelio nec ulla scriptura. . .

Obiectio altera est, quod in conclusione mea septima declaranda dixi: Neminem iustificari posse nisi per fidem, sic scilicet, ut necesse sit eum certa fide credere sese iustificari, et nullo modo dubitare quod gratiam consequatur. Si enim dubitat et incertus est, iam non iustificatur sed evomit gratiam. Hanc theologiam novam videri putant et erroneam.

Ad quod respondeo: Primum, infallibilis est veritas, quod nullus est iustus, nisi qui credit in Deum, ut Rom. i, Iustus ex fide vivit. Ideo quicumque non crediderit, iam iudicatus et mortuus est: igitur iustitia iusti, et vita eius, est fides eius. . . Secundo, fides autem est nihil aliud quam illud, quod Deus promittit aut dicit, credere, sicut Rom. iv, Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est ei ad iustitiam. Ideo verbum et fides necessario simul sunt: et sine verbo impossibile est esse fidem, ut Isa. lv, Verbum quod egreditur de ore meo, non revertetur ad me vacuum.

Tertio, nunc probandum est, quod accessuro ad sacramentum necessarium sit credere sese gratiam consequi, et in hoc non dubitare, sed certissima fiducia confidere, alioqui in iudicium accedit. Primo, per illud Apostoli ad Ebr. xi, Oportet accedentem credere, quod Deus est, et quod inquirentibus se remunerator est. Hic patet quod non licet dubitare, sed

firmiter oportet credere, quod Deus sese inquirentes remuneret. Quod si oportet credere remuneratorem, omnino oportet etiam credere iustificatorem, et gratiae largitorem in praesenti, sine qua praemium non donatur. Secundo necessarium est sub periculo aeternae damnationis et peccati infidelitatis credere his verbis Christi: Quodcumque solveris super terram, solutum erit et in caelis. Ideo si accedas ad sacramentum poenitentiae, et non credideris firmiter tete absolvendum in caelo, in iudicium accedis et damnationem, quia non credis Christum vera dixisse: Quodcumque solveris, &c., et sic tua dubitatione Christum mendacem facis, quod est horrendum peccatum. Si autem dixeris: quid si sim indignus et indispositus ad sacramentum? Respondeo ut supra: Per nullam dispositionem efficeris dignus, per nulla opera aptus ad sacramentum, sed per solam fidem, quia sola fides verbi Christi iustificat, vivificat, dignificat, praeparat, sine qua omnia alia vel sunt praesumptionis vel desperationis studia. Iustus enim non ex dispositione sua, sed ex fide vivit. Quare de indignitate tua nihil oportet dubitare. Ideo enim accedis, quia indignus es, ut dignus fias, et iustificeris ab eo, qui peccatores, et non iustos, quaerit salvos facere. Dum autem credis verbo Christi, iam honoras verbum eius et ex eo opere iustus es, &c. Tertio, hanc fidem multipliciter nobis commendavit in Evangelio . . .

Istae et multae aliae auctoritates . . . ducunt me in sententiam quam dixi . . . Et stantibus his auctoritatibus, aliud facere non possum: nisi quod obediendum esse Deo magis quam hominibus scio . . .

No. 18. Luther's appeal to Leo X.

In nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem MDXVIII . . . die vero sabbati xvi mensis Octobris, pontificatus S. D. N. Leonis papae X, anno vi. In mei notarii publici testiumque infra scriptorum . . . praesentia, personaliter constitutus R. P. D. Martinus Lutherus Augustinianus, S. T. P., eiusdemque in Wittenbergensi studio Brandenburgensis diocesis lector ordinarius principalis . . .

Quod cum in materia indulgentiarum variae et incertae sint opiniones doctorum, tam canonistarum quam theologorum, nec in his usque hodie aliquid certum et determinatum habeat ecclesia . . .

Deinde in his quae sunt dubia et opinabilia . . . est licitum disputare et contradicere sapientem sapienti . . . Ita ut et

ecclesia praeceperit . . . ut non permittantur quaestores proponere populo aliud quam quod in literis eorum continetur.

Quibus . . . praeceptis nixus, disputandam hanc materiam suscepi, motus immodestissimis declamationibus . . . quibus indulgentias divulgabant quidam in nostris regionibus apostolici (ut asserebant) commissarii et quaestores . . .

Et licet ego non de fide, non de moribus, non de praeceptis Dei aut ecclesiae, sed de indulgentiis (ut dixi) disputarem . . .

Nihilominus quidam mammonae cultores . . . timentes ne huius disputationis occasione . . . quaestus ipsorum . . . funditus periret, exarserunt sicut ignis in spinis. Atque cum ipsi . . . praedicando aberrarent, etiam hoc mali adiecerunt, ut frivolis quibusdam . . . delationibus, adeo me apud S. D. N. Leonem X . . . odiosum fecerunt . . . ut . . . causam contra me, tanquam de haeresi suspectum . . . reverendissimis in Christo patribus, domino Hieronymo de Ghinutiis, episcopo Asculanensi, auditori Camerae, &c., et Sylvestro Prieriati, ordinis praedicatorum, palatii apostolici magistro, committeret . . . Qui quidem iudices . . . mihi utrique suspectissimi me citari fecerunt . . . ad comparandum personaliter Romae, in loco . . . non tuto . . .

Cum itaque metu huiusmodi . . . impeditus Romam ire non possem, sollicitavi per illustrissimum Principem Fridericum S. R. I. Electorem, Saxoniae Ducem . . . ut a sede apostolica causa viris . . . committeretur . . . in loco tuto, coram quibus . . . comparere . . . paratissimus essem.

Quod cum S. D. N. Leo X ut cuius clementia et . . . iustitiae observantia per totum orbem dignissime celebratur, per adversarios suae causae timentes, ut in personam R. P. D. Thomae, Tituli S. Sixti Presbyteri Cardinalis, sanctae Sedis Apostolicae per Germaniam de latere Legati, transferretur, sperantes quod cum idem R. D. de Ordine eorum fuerit, ruinosae et aegrae suae causae, facilius hoc ingenio mederentur. Qui quidem R. D. etsi suspectus merito videri poterat, quod de parte et opinione adversariorum sit . . . tamen ut vir est . . . doctissimus et humanissimus, paterne . . . sese mihi exhibuit . . . Sed simpliciter . . . me ad revocationem adigere voluit, minando . . . me sententia excommunicationis innodare . . . Ex quibus me gravatum laesumque . . . sentio, cum et hodie fatear solummodo me disputasse, et omnia sub pedibus S. D. N. Leonis X subiecisse, ut occidat, vivificet, reprobet, approbet, sicut placuerit. Et vocem eius vocem Christi in ipso praesidentis agnoscam. Et legitime protestor me nihil dicere aut sapere velle, quod non in et ex sacris literis et ecclesiasticis patribus,

sacrisque canonibus probari potest, ut in libro Resolutionum meorum videri potest.

Idecirco a praefato S. D. N. Papa, non bene informato, eiusque praetensa commissione, . . . ad S. D. N. Leonem, divina providentia Papam X melius informandum provoco . . .

X

LEO X

Shortly after Luther's return to Wittenberg, Leo X, addressing Cajetan, reaffirmed the current doctrine of Indulgences, in, 9 Nov. 1518 [No. 19], the Bull 'Cum postquam' (*Lutheri Op. Lat.* ii. 429 sqq.; Loescher, ii. 494 sq.).

No. 19. The Bull 'Cum postquam' of 9 Nov. 1518.

Cum, postquam circumspectio tua Germaniam applicuerat, ad aures nostras pervenisset quod nonnulli Religiosi . . . super Indulgentiis a nobis et Romanis Pontificibus, praedecessoribus nostris . . . concedi solitis, publice praedicando multorum cordibus imprimerent errores, idque nobis intelligere nimis grave et molestum esset, aliis nostris literis eidem circumspectioni tuae . . . commisimus ut auctoritate nostra approbatione digna approbares, ea vero quae minus recte dicta essent, etiam per eos qui Romanae Ecclesiae doctrinam se sequi paratos assererent, reprobare et damnare curares.

Et ne de caetero quisquam ignorantiam doctrinae Romanae Ecclesiae circa huiusmodi Indulgentias et illarum efficaciam allegare, aut ignorantiae huiusmodi praetextu se excusare, aut protestatione conficta se iuvare, sed ut ipsi de notorio mendacio ut culpabiles convinci et merito damnari, possint, per praesentes tibi significandum duximus Romanam Ecclesiam, quam reliquae tanquam matrem sequi tenentur, tradidisse, Romanam Pontificem, Petri Clavigeri successorem et Iesu Christi in terris Vicarium, potestate clavium (quarum est aperire tollendo illius in Christi fidelibus impedimenta, culpam scilicet et poenam pro actualibus peccatis debitam, culpam quidem mediante sacramento poenitentiae, poenam vero temporalem pro actualibus peccatis secundum divinam iustitiam debitam, mediante ecclesiastica Indulgentia) posse pro rationabilibus causis concedere eisdem Christi fidelibus, qui, caritate iungente, membra sunt Christi, sive in hac vita sint sive in Purgatorio, Indulgentias ex superabundantia meritorum Christi et sancto-

rum, ac tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis Apostolica auctoritate Indulgentiam concedendo, thesaurum meritorum Iesu Christi et Sanctorum dispensare, per modum absolutionis Indulgentiam ipsam conferre, vel per modum suffragii illam transferre consuevisse. Ac propterea omnes tam vivos quam defunctos, qui veraciter omnes Indulgentias huiusmodi consecuti fuerint, a tanta temporali poena secundum divinam iustitiam pro peccatis suis actualibus debita liberari, quanta concessae et acquisitae Indulgentiae aequivalet. Et ita ab omnibus teneri, et praedicari debere sub excommunicationis latae sententiae poena, a qua illam incurrentes ab alio quam a Romano Pontifice, nisi in mortis articulo, nequeant absolutionis beneficium obtinere, auctoritate apostolica, earundem tenore praesentium decernimus. . . .

XI

LUTHER'S REPLY

While the Pope's Bull was preparing, 'Luther had made another step in advance. Dissatisfied with the appeal *ad Papam melius informandum* . . . he replaced it, 28 Nov. 1518, by [No. 20] an appeal to a future General Council (*Lutheri Op. Lat.* ii. 438 sqq., Loescher, ii. 506 sqq.) . . . drawn up on the lines of one which the University of Paris had made, on the 27th of March, 1517, against the abrogation by the Lateran Council of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges' (cf. Beard, *Martin Luther*, 254 sq., ed. 1896).

No. 20. His Appeal to a General Council.

Cum appellationis remedium in subsidium . . . oppressorum a iurium conditoribus sit adinventum, et . . . ab illatis . . . iniuriis iura appellare permittant; adeo quod inferior de non appellando ad superiorem statuere non possit et manus superiorum claudere. Sed cum satis sit in professo, quod sacrosanctum concilium in Spiritu sancto legitime congregatum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam repraesentans, sit in causis fidem concernentibus supra Papam, evenit quod nec Papa in causis huiusmodi, ne ab eo ad Concilium appelletur, statuere possit . . . Idcirco ego Frater Martinus Luther . . . [*here follows a recital of his case, as in the appeal of 16 Oct.*] a . . . S. D. N. Leone non recte consulto . . . ad futurum concilium legitime ac in loco tuto [congregatum] . . . provoco et appello in iis scriptis . . . Acta sunt haec Wittembergae . . . in capella Corporis Christi, in parochiali ibidem cimiterio situata, praesentibus, &c.

XII

MILTITZ, 1519.

On 8 Dec. 1518 the Elector Frederick, 1486-†1525, in a letter to Cajetan declined the Legate's request 'ut Martinum Lutherum sive Romam mitteremus sive ex nostris regionibus expelleremus' (*Lutheri Op. Lat.* ii. 410), and thus took Luther once more under his protection. In view of the coming Imperial Election it was worth the Pope's while to show so powerful a prince some mark of his favour. Accordingly Charles von Miltitz (?1490-†1529), by birth a Saxon nobleman, and now both papal chamberlain and agent at Rome for the Saxon Courts, was appointed Nuncio 15 Oct. 1518 (Loescher, ii. 554), and sent to bring him the Golden Rose. Miltitz left Italy Nov. 1518; and, after interviews with Spalatin and the Elector in December which led him to see the necessity of disavowing Tetzel († 4 July 1519), disgraced that worthy at Leipzig, and then went on to Altenburg, where he had a friendly meeting with Luther in Spalatin's house 6 Jan. 1519. In letters of Jan. 1519 Luther gives [No. 21] **an account to the Elector of his agreement with Miltitz** (de Wette, i. 208 sq.; tr. Gieseler v. 369); in another of 20 Feb. to Staupitz, of [No. 22] **his impressions of the interview** (de Wette, i. 231 sq.); and in that of 3 March he makes, as promised, [No. 23] his submission to Leo X (*ibid.* i. 233; Loescher, iii. 92 sqq.).

No. 21. Luther's account to the Elector of the agreement with Miltitz.

First, that a general inhibition should be imposed on both sides, and that both sides shall be forbidden to preach, write, or treat of these subjects any more.

Secondly, he, Charles von Miltitz, would write to our holy father the Pope a short account of the position of affairs, as he had found them, and provide that the Pope's holiness should commission some learned bishop to investigate the case, and point out articles which are erroneous and to be revoked by me. And if then I be shown my error, I ought and will gladly recant it and not weaken the honour and authority of the Holy Roman Church.

In the next place, I was ready to write to the Pope's holiness, and submit myself with all humility, confess that I had been too zealous and too eager, yet with no intention to encroach on the holy Church, but only to show the reason why, as a true son of the Church, I had resented the wicked preaching, out of which great ridicule, ill-repute, dishonour, and discontent had grown

up amongst the people towards the Church of Rome. Thirdly, I was ready to issue a paper¹ exhorting every man to follow the Church of Rome with obedience and respect, and my work should be understood not to the detriment, but to the honour of the Roman Church; also to confess that I had brought the truth forward too zealously, and perhaps out of season.

No. 22. Luther's account to Staupitz of the interview with Miltitz.

Carolus Miltitius me vidit Altenburgi, conquestus quod orbem totum mihi coniunxerim et Papae abstraxerim: exploratum se habere per hospitia cuncta quod inter quinque homines tres aut duo vix Romanae parti faverent: fuit armatus 70 Brevibus apostolicis, in hoc negotium ut me captum perduceret in homicidam Ierusalem, purpuratam illam Babylonem, ut postea ex aula Principis accepi. Quod studium cum desperatum esset, coepit agere ut Romanae Ecclesiae restituerem quod abstulissem et revocarem.

Cum autem peterem ut doceret revocanda, tandem convenimus ut episcopis aliquot causa committeretur: ego nominavi Archiepiscopum Salzburgensem,² Trevirensensem³ et Freisingensem⁴: atque vesperi me accepto convivio laetati sumus et osculo mihi dato discessimus: ego sic me gessi quasi has Italitates et simulationes non intelligerem. Tetzelium quoque vocavit et increpavit: tandem Lipsiae eum convicit, quod 90 florenos pro suo stipendio menstruo una cum tribus equitibus et curru liberis et gratuitis expensis habuerit. Iamque disparuit idem Tetzelius, nemine conscio quo pervenerit, nisi patribus suis forte. . . .

No. 23. Luther's submission to Leo X.

Beatissime Pater, cogit iterum necessitas ut ego faex hominum et pulvis terrae ad Beatitudinem tuam tantamque maiestatem loquar. Quare paternas ac vere Christi vicarias aures huic

¹ *Dr. M. Luthers Unterricht auf etliche Artikel, die ihm von seinen Abgönnern aufgelegt und zugemessen wurden*, published Feb. 1519. Text in Loescher, iii. 84 sqq. Cf. Beard, *Martin Luther*, 274.

² Matthew Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg, 1519-†40.

³ Richard von Greiffenklau, Elector Archbishop of Trier, 1511-†31.

⁴ Philip Count Palatine, Bishop of Freisingen, 1498-†1541, and Naumburg, 1517-†41.

oviculae tuae interim clementissime accommodare dignetur B^o. tua, et balatum meum hunc officiose intelligere.

Fuit apud nos honestus hic vir Carolus Miltitz, B^s. tuae Secretarius Cubicularius, gravissime causatus nomine B^s. tuae apud illustrissimum Principem Fridericum de mea in Romanam Ecclesiam et B^m. tuam et irreverentia et temeritate expostulans satisfactionem. Ego ista audiens plurimum dolui officiosissimum officium meum tam infelix esse ut, quod pro tuendo honore Ecclesiae Romanae susceperam, in irreverentiam etiam apud ipsum verticem eiusdem Ecclesiae ac plenam omnis mali suspcionem venerit.

Sed quid agam, B. P.? Desunt mihi consilia prius: potestatem irae tuae ferre non possum, et quomodo eripiar ignoro. Revocationem expostulor disputationis: quae si id posset praestare, quod per eam quaeritur, sine mora ego praestarem eam. Nunc autem cum, resistentibus et prementibus adversariis, scripta mea latius vagentur quam unquam speraveram: simul profundius haeserint plurimorum animis quam ut revocari possint: quin cum Germania nostra hodie mire floreat ingeniis, cruditione, iudicio: si Romanam Ecclesiam volo honorare: id quam maxime mihi curandum video, ne quid ullo modo revocem. Nam istud revocare nihil fieret, nisi Ecclesiam Romanam magis ac magis foedare et in ora omnium hominum accusandam tradere.

Illi illi, heu B. P., hanc Ecclesiae Romanae intulerunt iniuriam et paene infamiam apud nos in Germania, quibus ego restiti, id est, qui insulsissimis suis sermonibus, sub nomine B^s. tuae, non nisi deterrimam avaritiam coluerunt, et opprobrio Aegypti contaminatam et abominandam reddiderunt sanctificationem: et quasi id non satisfuerit malorum, me, qui tantis eorum monstris occurri, auctorem suae temeritatis apud B^m. tuam inculpant.

Nunc, B. P., coram Deo et tota creatura sua testor, me neque voluisse neque hodie velle Ecclesiae Romanae ac B^s. tuae potestatem ullo modo tangere aut quacunque versutia demoliri: quin plenissime confiteor huius Ecclesiae potestatem esse super omnia: nec ei praefendum quidquam sive in coelo sive in terra, praeter unum Iesum Christum Dominum omnium: nec B^o. tua ullis malis dolis credat, qui aliter de Luthero hoc machinantur.

Et quod unum in ista causa facere possum, promittam libentissime B^s. tuae istam de indulgentiis materiam me deinceps relicturum penitusque taciturnum (modo et adversarii mei suas

vanas ampullas contineant), editurum denique in vulgus quo intelligant et moveantur ut Romanam Ecclesiam pure colant, et non illorum temeritatem huic imputent: neque meam asperitatem imitentur adversus Romanam Ecclesiam, qua ego usus sum, imo abusus et excessi adversus balatrones istos: si qua tandem gratia Dei, vel eo studio rursum sopiri queat excitata discordia. Nam id unicum a me quaesitum est, ne avaritiae alienae foeditate pollueretur Ecclesia Romana mater nostra, neve populi seducerentur in errorem, et caritatem discerent posthabere indulgentiis. Caetera omnia, ut sunt neutralia, a me villius aestimantur. Si autem et plura facere potero aut cognovero, sine dubio paratissimus ero. Christus servet Bm. tuam in aeternum.

Ex Altenburgo, 3 Martii, anno MDXIX.

XIII

THE DISPUTATION AT LEIPZIG, 1519

Ten days after his letter to Leo X Luther wrote to the Elector declaring that he himself had intended 'the game should come to an end', but that, as Eck had now attacked him, it was not fair his mouth should be closed and another allowed to speak (de Wette, i. 237).

John Maier, 1486-1543, known as Eck from his birthplace, a Bavarian village of that name, became, 1517, Professor of Theology and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt. He was also Canon of Eichstädt, and a 'disputator acerrimus'. In 1518, when on a visit to Gabriel von Eyb, Bishop of Eichstädt, 1496-1535, and Chancellor of Ingolstadt, Eck was asked for an opinion in writing on Luther's Ninety-five Theses. He made a selection, and sent it to the Bishop, with animadversions, in his *Obelisci*. The selection fell into Luther's hands by 24 March 1518 (de Wette, i. 100), and in August he replied with *Asterisci* (*Lutheri Op. Lat.* i. 410 sqq.: Loescher, ii. 333 sqq.).

At this point Andrew Bodenstein, 1480-1541, called Carlstadt from his birthplace in Franconia, intervened. Summoned to Wittenberg, 1504, he was lecturing *in via Thomae* 1507, and as Professor of Theology and Archdeacon, 1510, was one of Luther's 'most violent opponents' till 1517, when he put out 152 Theses 'concerning nature, law, and grace, against the Schoolmen', of which Luther wrote in high terms (de Wette, i. 55). They were now allies, and in May and June 1518 Carlstadt submitted 406 *Conclusiones* (Loescher, ii. 78 sqq.) against Eck and Tetzel, the twelfth of which asserts 'Textus Bibliae non modo uni pluribusve ecclesiae doctoribus sed etiam totius ecclesiae auctoritati praefertur' (*Ibid.* 80). These provoked from Eck a *Defensio*, which contained

a challenge to Carlstadt to hold a public disputation in some University to be agreed on. The challenge was accepted; and Luther, meeting with Eck in Augsburg Oct. 1518 (de Wette, i. 216), arranged for the disputation to take place at Leipzig, subject to the approval of George, Duke of Saxony, of the Albertine line, 1500-†39, and the authorities ecclesiastical and academic.

While the negotiations were pending the combatants began to arm: Eck, with twelve propositions, Dec. 1518, directed at Carlstadt whom he now designated 'Luther's champion'; and Luther, by this time no second, but protagonist, with twelve counter-theses which he sent to Spalatin 7 Feb. 1519 (de Wette, i. 222). Eck raised his series to thirteen, 'contra M. Lutherum,' and republished them 14 March (Loescher, iii. 559 sqq., and 210 sq.). Whereupon Carlstadt replied, 26 April, with seventeen (*ibid.* 284 sqq.); and Luther, raising his also to thirteen, sent them to John Lange 16 May (de Wette, i. 274), under the title *Disputatio et excusatio F. M. Lutheri adversus criminationes D. Io. Eccii* (*Lutheri Op. Lat.* iii. 12 sqq.; Loescher, iii. 563 sqq. and 212 sq.). On [No. 24] the thirteenth of Eck's and of Luther's series respectively the vital issue was joined at Leipzig, and Luther gave a hint of the line he would take by publishing early in June his *Resolutio super propositione XIII de potestate Papae* (Loescher, iii. 123 sqq.; *Lutheri Op. Lat.* iii. 296 sqq.; and cf. Beard, *Martin Luther*, 292 sq.).

Leipzig, founded 1409, was a seat of the Old Learning; but, though its Chancellor, Prince Adolphus of Anhalt, Bishop of Merseburg, 1514-126, supporting the Theological Faculty, forbade the disputation, the University was not indisposed to try conclusions with its younger rival Wittenberg, founded 1502, and appealed to Duke George. On 17 June [No. 25] the Duke sent a highly characteristic letter (Seidemann, *Die Leipziger Disputation*, App. xi. 119 sqq.) to the Bishop, and fixed the disputation for 27 June. It was held in the Pleissenburg, his castle on the outskirts of the town. Besides the accounts left by the principals, Eck (Loescher, iii. 222 sqq.), and Luther (*ibid.* 233 sqq., and de Wette, i. 284 sqq.), and by others, we have [No. 26] an account from the point of view of an independent onlooker, Peter Schade (Mosellanus, 1494-†1524; Loescher, iii. 242 sqq.), the only humanist of the University. On 27-8 June Eck debated with Carlstadt Grace and Free-will; and on 4-8 July, with Luther, the primacy of the Pope. Luther successfully contested the *ius divinum* of the Papacy on historical grounds, but was betrayed into a denial of the infallibility of General Councils as illustrated by the case of Hus, whereupon Eck seized the advantage thus given him to claim the victory in argument for himself (the *Aula*, in Loescher, iii. 292 sqq.; *Lutheri Op. Lat.* iii. 23 sqq.), as appears from [No. 27] the minutes of the Disputation.

of as idle and profligate persons. We quite believe that if this disputation brought them a good feast and a fair sum for little trouble, then they would consider it a praiseworthy exercise, and by no means to be refused. But as their leisure would be disturbed, your Grace and everybody else must give in, so that they may have their own way. They are like bad soldiers. If they hear a single shot, they think they have been hit. Dr. Eck has not announced in his writing what he wishes to dispute about. They are afraid he wants to dispute about matters which they would not know how to propound, and consequently they wish to divine and judge before they have heard plaintiff or defendant . . .

That our theologians should shun such disputations seems to us to be contrary to their profession ; for to them, as teachers of the Scripture, it ought to be a joy to bring to light that over which they have eaten many good dinners, inasmuch as they have the highest places in lectureships and feasts. But if they know it, and do it not, or will not bring it to the day, I would just as soon have a year-old child in their place ; for it is to be hoped that we might in time bring it to do what we wanted and to let us hear what it knew, and we would in the mean time keep it on pap and simple food ! Let your Grace consider what your shepherd thinks of his dogs when they will not bark and will not bite the wolf. If they cannot stand these disputations, and are afraid of being worsted, then we would rather have old women in their places to sing to us and spin for us for pay !

This then is our friendly request, that your Grace would not consent to the above who call themselves theologians and yet are ashamed to bring their knowledge to light ; but that you would urge them with all your might to allow the disputation to take place, unless it is openly forbidden by His Holiness . . .

No. 26. An account by an onlooker.

Successit Carolostadio Martinus, sustentaturus hoc : 'Romanam ecclesiam eiusque episcopum ceteris superiorem probari tantum ex decretis, contra quae staret et Scriptura et Niceni concilii auctoritas.' Quam sententiam ut everteret Eccius, nihil non tentavit, hucque omnes ingenii sui machinas admovit, et dies continuos octo impendit obiter, illud potissimum studens, ut plerisque Boiemicæ factionis articulis obiectis hominem in

maiolem invidiam adduceret. Quas insidias statim intelligens Martinus, graviter, et velut spiritu quodam, infremuit, huc se *παρέργως* insidiosè trahi. Porro obiecta dogmata, partim magna cum indignatione reiecit, partim etiam ut Christiana amplectabatur, nisi ubique vel Scripturae libratissimis testimoniis vel veterum conciliorum decretis. In summa, nihil tam studuit quam Boiemi dissidii per se approbandi suspicionem procul a se amovere. Rursus Eccius in hoc erat totus, ut hanc de Martino opinionem omnibus ingereret, ipso Martino quantumvis reclamante . . . Martinus statura est mediocri, corpore macilento, curis pariter et studiis exhausto, sic ut propius intuenti omnia paene ossa liceat dinumerare, aetate virili adhuc et integra, voce acuta et clara. Doctrina vero et Scripturae cognitio admirabilis in eo, adeo ut omnia paene in nuptrato habeat. Graece et Hebraice hactenus didicit, ut de interpretationibus iudicium facere possit. Nec deest dicendi materia, suppetit enim rerum et verborum sylvà ingens. Porro in ipsa vita et moribus civilis et facilis, nihil stoicum, nihil superciliosum prae se fert, immo omnium horarum hominem agit. In congressibus festivus, iucundus, alacris et securus ubique, semper laeta facie florens, quantumvis atrocía comminentur adversarii, ut haud facile credas hominem tam ardua sine numine Divum moliri. Sed, quod ei vitio dant plerique omnes, in reprehendendo impudentior paulo et mordacior, quam vel tutum sit *τῷ τὰ θεῖα καινοτομοῦντι* vel decorum homini theologo. Quod vitium haud scio an non cum omnibus *ὀψιμαθέσι* habeat commune.

Haec pleraque omnia in Carolostadio paulo minora deprehendas; nisi quod huic statura est brevior, facies autem nigricans et adusta, vox obscura et inamoena, memoria infirmior et ad iracundiam promptior.

Iam Eccio status est procerus, corpus solidum et quadratum, vox plena et plane Germanica, lateribus fortissimis subnixà, ut non tragoedis tantum sed et praeconibus sufficere possit: aspera tamen magis quam expressa. Tantum abest ut nativam illam Romani oris suavitatem Fabio ac Ciceroni tantopere laudatam referat: os et oculi, totus denique vultus sunt eiusmodi, ut hinc certe quemvis lanium aut Carem militem citius quam theologum possis agnoscere. Quod ad ingenium attinet, memoria pollet insigni, quae si in parem incidisset intellectum, iam omnibus numeris naturae opus fuisset absolutum. Deest homini intelligendi prompta vis, deest iudicandi acumen, sine quo ceterae dotes omnes frustra contingunt. Atque haec

causa est quod dum disputat tot argumenta, tot Scripturae testimonia, tot auctorum dicta, citra ullum omnino delectum congerit, interim non advertens quam pleraque sint frigida, quam suis locis recte intellecta, ad praesens nihil faciant, quam denique sint vel ἀπόκρυφα vel sophistica. Hoc enim tantum curat ut copiosam farraginem spargens, auditoribus magna ex parte stupidis fucum faciat, et victoriae opinionem de se praebeat. Adde his incredibilem audaciam, quam admirabili tegit vafrieie. Etenim, si quando per hanc in adversarii laqueos incidisse se sentit, disputationem paulatim alio deflectit. Nunquam vero et adversarii sententiam aliis verbis conceptam pro sua amplectens, absurdam suam in adversarium mirabili calliditate detorquet, ut quemvis Socratem vincere videri posset . . .

No. 27. From the Minutes of the Disputation.

[Hora 2 die 5 Julii, 1519]

Luthérus.

Obiecit egregius D. Doctor in fine, articulos Wickleff et Iohannis Huss damnatos, et Bonifacium damnatorem eorundem. Respondeo, sicut prius, me non velle nec posse defendere Bohemorum schisma, sed Graecam Ecclesiam mille et quadringentorum annorum, sive cum ea senserint Bohemi, nihil ad me, certum habeo quod nec Rom. Pontifex nec omnes eius adulatorum possint tantum numerum sanctorum sub potestate Rom. Pontificis nunquam agentium de coelo deturbare.

Secundo, et hoc certum est, inter articulos Iohannis Huss vel Bohemorum multos esse plane Christianissimos et evangelicos, quos non possit universalis Ecclesia damnare, velut est ille et similis, 'Quod tantum est una Ecclesia universalis.' Haec enim agentibus impiissimis adulatoribus inique est damnata, cum oret universitas Ecclesiae: 'Credo in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem.' Hunc nobilissimum articulum fidei inter articulos Iohannis Huss numerant.

Deinde ille 'Non est de necessitate salutis credere Romanam Ecclesiam esse aliis superiorem', sive sit Wickleff, sive Huss, non curo. Scio quod salvati sunt Gregorius Nazianzenus, Basilius Magnus, Epiphanius, Cyprianus et innumerabiles alii Graeciae episcopi, et tamen hunc articulum non tenuerunt. Nec est in potestate Rom. Pontificis, aut Inquisitorum haereticae pravitatis, novos condere articulos fidei, sed secundum conditos iudicare. Nec potest fidelis Christianus cogi ultra

sacram Scripturam, quae est proprie ius divinum, nisi accesserit nova et probata revelatio. Imo ex iure divino prohibemur credere, nisi quod sit probatum, vel per Scripturam divinam, vel per manifestam revelationem. Ut Gerson etiam etsi recentior in multis locis asserit, et divus Augustinus antiquior pro singulari canone observat, dicens ad divum Hieronymum: 'Ego solis eis Libris didici hunc honorem deferre, qui Canonici appellantur, caeteros autem ita lego ut quantalibet doctrina sanctitateque praevalleant, non ideo verum existimem quia illi sic senserunt sed si ex libris canonicis vel probabili ratione mihi persuadere potuerunt.'

Quin etiam ipsi Iuristae, de quibus minus videretur, in cap. Significasti, de elect., statuerint praevalere unius privati hominis sententiam, tam Pontifici Rom. quam Concilio et Ecclesiae, si meliore auctoritate nixus fuerit vel ratione. Ideo nihil est quod D. egregius Doctor, volens ex iure divino contra me arguere, dimisso iure divino, arguit contra me ex collectaneis haereticæ pravitatis Inquisitorum.

Proinde ista propositio Iohannis Huss: 'Papalis dignitas a Caesare inolevit,' si est falsa, eradatur Platina in vita Benedicti II, ubi scribit Constantinum IV, Imperatorem Graecorum, sanxisse Pontificem Rom. esse Vicarium Christi generalem, quanquam nec sic sit observatum a Graeciae episcopis.

Quare, quantum me urget egregius D. Doctor per Bohemos nondum centum annorum, tantum ego urgeo eum per orientalem ecclesiam, meliorem partem universalis ecclesiae et mille quadringentorum annorum. Si illi sunt haeretici quia Rom. Pontificem non agnoverunt, haeticum accusabo adversarium, qui tot Sanctos per universalem ecclesiam celebratos audet asserere damnatos. Per eadem dico ad Bonifacium VIII, qui qualis Pontifex fuerit et qua fide eius gesta recipienda, satis probant historiae.

Proinde concludo et rogo, D. Doctor velit Rom. Pontifices concedere fuisse homines, et non constituere Deos, praesertim quoties iudicaverunt in causa propria: deinde non per se ipsos, sed per indoctissimos adulatores, quando divus Gregorius multis epistolis, etsi Rom. Pontifex, reiecit a se primum totius orbis, allegans ad hoc praedecessorem suum Pelagium, dicens inter caetera quod veneranda Synodus Chalcedonensis obtulit hunc primatus honorem Rom. Pontifici et nullus tamen ausus est acceptare. Si ergo ego erro, errat mecum Gregorius primus, cum suis praedecessoribus, et damnabiliter peccaverunt, quod oblatum primum non assumpservunt.

Per haec volo probatum quod ex Decretis, damnationibus, approbationibus recentioribus Ecclesiae Rom. nihil contra me agitur, cum sint suspectissima omnia et antiquae veritati et consuetudini per omnia contraria, nihilominus tamen pro reverentia et vitando schismate libentissime tolero, et toleranda persuadeo, modo non tantum iure divino tot sanctos praeedentes damnemus. Haec habui quae dicerem de articulis.

Eccius.

... De Graecis sanctis diximus saepius; sed hoc horrendum omnibus Christi fidelibus esse arbitror quod reverendus Pater contra tam sanctum et laudabile Constantiense Concilium tanto consensu totius Christianitatis congregatum non veretur dicere articulos aliquos Hussiticos et Wicklefficos fuisse Christianissimos et evangelicos.

[Hora 7 die 7 Julii.]

Eccius.

... Petit tamen a me, ut problem ei concilium non posse errare. Nescio quid sibi velit ista petitio an tacite laudabile et gloriosum Constantiense Concilium velit habere suspectum. Hoc dico vobis, Reverende Pater, si creditis concilium legitime congregatum errare et errasse, estis mihi sicut ethnicus et publicanus. Quid sit haereticus, in praesentia non discutiam...

XIV

THE CIRCULATION OF LUTHER'S WORKS

Froben, 1460-1527, the famous printer of Basel, acting on the suggestion of Beatus Rhenanus, 1485-1547, then corrector of the press, made the first attempt at a collection of Luther's works in Oct. 1518. [No. 28] His letter to Luther (*Lutheri Op. Lat. iv. 82 sq.*) of 14 Feb. 1519 illustrates the rapidity with which they were being spread over Europe, and also the connexion of the press and of humanism with the Reformation. The Day-book of John Dorne, a bookseller at Oxford, shows thirteen entries of Luther's works sold in 1520, his most popular book being the *Resolutio de potestate Papae* (Oxf. His. Society's *Collectanea*, 164).

No. 28. Letter of Froben to Luther, 14 Feb. 1519.

Dono dedit mihi Blasius Salmonius Bibliopola Lipsiensis in proximis nundinis Franckfordensibus libellos varios a te elucubratos, quos omnium doctorum iudicio approbatos typis

meis statim excudi. Sexcentos in Galliam misimus et in Hispaniam, venduntur Parisiis, leguntur etiam a Sorbonicis, et probantur quemadmodum amici nostri nos certiores reddiderunt : dixerunt illic doctissimi quidam, se iam pridem talem libertatem desiderasse in his qui sacras literas tractant.

Calvus quoque bibliopola Papiensis, vir eruditissimus et musis sacer, bonam libellorum partem in Italiam deportavit, per omnes civitates sparsurus. Neque enim tam spectat lucrum quam cupit nascenti pietati suppetias ferre, et quatenus potest prodesse. Is promisit ab omnibus eruditis in Italia viris epigrammata se missurum in tui laudem scripta, usque adeo tibi favet Christique negotio, quod tanta constantia tam viriliter tamque dextere geris . . . Praeterea libellos tuos in Brabantiam et Angliam misimus. Impressimus Replicae Sylvestrinae trecenta tantum exemplaria, eam negant docti obesse tibi posse. Hic ut quisque est optimus, ita tui maxime est studiosus. Episcopus noster¹ imprimis tibi favet, eius item suffraganeus Tripolitanus episcopus. Cardinalis Sedunensis², cum illi tuas Lucubrationes obtulissemus, statim dixit : 'Luther, tu vere es Luther.' Huic nuper quidam Eccii Propositiones misit adiciens se victoriae nuncium, quam Eccius sit Lipsiae contra novam doctrinam obtenturus, statim allaturum. Cui respondit Cardinalis : 'Disputet Eccius quantum velit, Lutherus veritatem scribit.'

Exemplaria nostra nos usque ad decem vendidimus omnia, haud feliciorum venditionem in aliquo libro sumus unquam experti. Novum Instrumentum ab Erasmo diligentissime recognitum et insigni accessione locupletatum intra dies decem faventibus Superis absolvemus. Bene vale, Reverende Pater.

Basileae, 14 Febr. MDXIX.

XV

LUTHER'S COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

The Commentary was the result of lectures, delivered since Oct. 1516. The first edition belongs to Sept. 1519; a revised edition, with a German translation, was published Aug. 1523. 'The Commentary, as it at present exists—one of Luther's most celebrated works, and a chief authority for his theological opinions—

¹ Christopher von Utenheim, Bishop of Basel, 1502-127.

² Matthew Schinner, Bishop of Sitten, 1499-1522.

belongs to 1535' (Beard, *Martin Luther*, 288). The following extract from a [No. 29] **prefatory letter** (de Wette, i. 333 sq.) indicates a stage in Luther's revolt from Rome, as well as the growing resentment of Germany against the Curia.

No. 29. His Prefatory Letter.

Quare et ego horum theologorum laicorum [sc. the princes at the diet of Augsburg 1518] exemplo pulcherrimo . . . distinguo inter Romanam Ecclesiam et Romanam Curiam. Illam scio purissimum esse thalamum Christi, matrem Ecclesiarum, dominam mundi, sed spiritu i. e. vitiorum, non rerum mundi, sponsam Christi, filiam Dei, terrorem inferni . . . Haec vero ex fructibus suis cognoscitur. Non quod magni faciendum sit, res nostras et iura diripi, cum fixum sit in coelo, Christianos in hac vita pressuram, Nimbrotos et robustos venatores pati . . . sed quod omnibus lacrimis sit miseria maior, haec a fratribus et patribus in fratres et filios fieri . . . quae a Turca vix fierent . . . Nullo modo ergo Romanae Ecclesiae resistere licet: at Romanae Curiae longe maiore pietate resisterent reges, principes, et quicunque possent, quam ipsis Turcis. . . .

Sed ad me redeo . . . Maluissem certe et ego exspectare commentarios olim ab Erasmo, viro in theologia summo et invidiae quoque victore, promissos: verum, dum ille differt (quod Deus faxit, non sit diuturnum), cogit me in publicum ire casus iste quem videtis. Scio quidem me infantem et ineruditum, sed tamen (quod ausim) pietatis et eruditionis Christianae studiosum atque hoc ipso eruditorem his qui divina mandata impiis legum humanarum pompis mere ridicula et ludibria fecerunt. Unum spectavi, si consequar, ut mea opera ii qui me apostolicas epistolas audierunt enarrantem Paulum apertiore habere et feliciter me superent: sin nec id effeci . . . conatus reliquus est, quo alios ad Paulinam theologiam volui accendere, quem nemo bonus mihi vitio dederit.

XVI

ERASMUS AND LUTHER, 1519.

Desiderius Erasmus, 1466-1536, the leading scholar of Europe, had ridiculed the theologians in his *Encomium Moriae*, 1511 (*Opera*, iv, coll. 405 sqq., Leyden, 1703-6), and had rendered reform possible by opening up Christian antiquity in his editions, 1516, of the New Testament in Greek and of St. Jerome. But he

looked for it to come by the slow solvent of liberal studies. Luther, before he took open action, found himself out of sympathy with Erasmus, 'quod Augustino in Scripturis interpretandis tantum posthabeo Hieronymum, quantum ipse Augustinum in omnibus Hieronymo posthabet' (Letter of 19 Oct. 1516: de Wette, i. 40), and again: 'Erasmm nostrum lego, et indies decrescit mihi animus erga eum; placet quidem quod tam religiosos quam sacerdotes non minus constanter quam erudite arguit et damnat inveteratae huius et veterosae inscitiae; sed timeo ne Christum et gratiam Dei non satis promoveat' (Letter of 1 March 1517: de Wette, i. 52). But in 1519, when a word of approval from Erasmus would have greatly encouraged him, he took advantage of certain disparaging remarks about 'pardons' which Erasmus had let fall in his 'praefatione Enchiridii recentissima' of 1518 to entreat him 'si ita tibi visum fuerit, agnosce et hunc fraterculum in Christo, tui certe studiosissimum' (Letter of 28 March, 1519: de Wette, i. 248). Erasmus replied coldly, from Louvain, 30 May, 'Habes in Anglia qui de tuis scriptis optime sentiant, et sunt hi maximi. Sunt et hic, quorum est eximius quidam, qui tuis favent. Ego me quoad licet integrum servo, quo magis prosim bonis literis reforescentibus' (*Opera*, III. i, col. 445 B). He did not wish to be compromised. On 13 Aug. in [No. 30] a letter to Leo X (Ep. 453; *ibid.* III. i. 491 E) he gives his views as to the treatment of the present troubles; on 1 Nov., in [No. 31] a letter to Albert of Mainz (Ep. 477: *ibid.* III. i. 515 D) he deals with their origin.

No. 30. Erasmus to Leo X, on the treatment of the present troubles.

... Protinus haeresis vocabulum in ore est, sicubi dissentit, aut videri volunt dissentire: si quid parum aridet, seditiose quiritantur apud crassam et indoctam multitudinem. Haec aliquoties parvis initiis orta, saepenumero vastissimum gignunt incendium, fitque ut malum, quod initio ceu leve negligebatur, paulatim auctum tandem erumpat in grave discrimen tranquillitatis Christianae. Hac quidem in re multum laudis debetur, optimis monarchis qui auctoritate sua dissidium hoc oriri coeptum sedarunt velut Henricus eius nominis octavus, apud Anglos; Franciscus, huius nominis primus, apud Gallos; apud Germanos, quod ea regio in regulos complures dissecta est, non potest idem fieri; apud nos, quoniam et nuper Principem habere coepimus atque eum habemus optimum quidem pariter et maximum, sed ingenti semotum intervallo, tumultuantur adhuc impune quidam. Proinde mihi videtur Tua Sanctitas rem factura Christo longe gratissimam, si contentionibus huiusmodi silentium indixerit,

atque id praestet in orbe toto Christiano quod Henricus et Franciscus in suis uterque regnis praestitere. Tua pietas summos reges redigit in concordiam : superest ut per eandem et studiis sua reddatur tranquillitas. Id fiet si tuo iussu homines qui loqui non possunt desinant obgannire politioribus litteris, et ad benedicendum elingues desinant in linguarum studiosos maledicere. . . .

No. 31. Erasmus to Albert of Mainz, on their origin.

. . . Spectandi in primis sunt huius mali fontes. Mundus oneratus est constitutionibus humanis, oneratus est opinionibus et dogmatibus scholasticis, tyrannide Fratrum Mendicantium, qui cum sint satellites Sedis Romanae tamen eo potentiae ac multitudinis evadunt, ut ipsi Romano Pontifici atque ipsis adeo Regibus sint formidabiles. His cum pro ipsis facit Pontifex, plusquam Deus est : in his quae faciunt adversus eorum commodum, non plus valet quam somnium. Non damno omnes, sed plurimi sunt huius generis qui ob quaestum ac tyrannidem, data opera illequeant conscientias hominum. Ac perfrita fronte iam coeperant, omisso Christo, nihil praedicare, nisi sua nova et subinde impudentiora dogmata. De indulgentiis sic loquebantur ut nec idiotae ferre possent. His et eiusmodi multis rebus paulatim evanescebat vigor Evangelicae doctrinae, et futurum erat ut rebus semper in deterius prolapsis, tandem prorsus exstingeretur illa scintilla Christianae pietatis, unde redaccendi poterat extincta caritas : ad ceremonias plusquam Iudaicas summa religionis vergebat. Haec suspirant et deplorant boni viri, haec ipsi etiam Theologi, non Monachi, et Monachi quidam in privatis colloquiis fidentur. Haec, opinor, moverunt animum Lutheri, ut primum auderet se quorundam intolerabili impudentiae opponere. Quid enim aliud suspicer de eo, qui nec honores ambit nec pecuniam cupit? De articulis, quos obiciunt Luthero, in praesentia non disputo, tantum de modo et occasione disputo. Ausus est Lutherus de Indulgentiis disputare, sed de quibus alii prius nimis impudenter asseveraverant. Ausus est immoderatus loqui de potestate Romani Pontificis, sed de qua isti nimis immoderate prius scripserant, quorum praecipui sunt tres Praedicatores, Alvarus, Sylvester, et Cardinalis sancti Sixti. Ausus est Thomae decreta contemnere, sed quae Dominicani paene praeferunt Evangeliiis. Ausus est in materia confes-

sionis scrupulos aliquos discutere, sed in qua Monachi sine fine illaqueant hominum conscientias. Ausus est ex parte negligere scholastica decreta, sed quibus ipsi nimium tribuunt, et in quibus ipsi nihilo minus inter se dissentiunt; postremo, quae subinde mutant, pro veteribus rescissis inducentes nova. Discruciabatur hoc pias mentes, cum audirent in scholis fere nullum sermonem de doctrina evangelica, sacros illos ab Ecclesia iam olim probatos auctores haberi pro antiquatis: imo in sacris concionibus minimum audiri de Christo; de potestate Pontificis, de opinionibus recentium fere omnia; totam orationem iam palam quaestum, adulationem, ambitionem, ac fucum prae se ferre. His imputandum opinor, etiamsi qua intemperantius scripsit Lutherus. . . . Multa scripsit Lutherus imprudenter magis quam impie, quorum hoc istos habet pessime quod Thomae non multum tribuit, quod minuit quaestum veniarum, quod ordinibus Mendicantium parum tribuit, quod scholasticis dogmatibus non tantundem defert quantum Evangeliiis, quod negligit humanas disputatorum argutias. Hae nimirum sunt haereses intolerabiles. . . . Olim haereticus habebatur qui dissentiebat ab Evangeliiis, ab articulis fidei. . . . Nunc si quis usquam dissentiat a Thoma, vocatur haereticus. . . . Quicquid non placet, quicquid non intelligunt, haeresis est. Gracece scire, haeresis est. Expolite loqui, haeresis est. Quicquid ipsi non faciunt, haeresis est. . . .

XVII

LUTHER AND ULRICH VON HUTTEN, 1520

Erasmus' chilling reception of Luther's advances was, in part, made up for by offers of assistance from Ulrich von Hutten, 1488-1523, half humanist, half German patriot. On 3 April 1518 Hutten had written contemptuously of a 'factio' that had arisen at Wittenberg 'monachorum ductu', expressing a hope 'ut mutui interitus causas sibi invicem praebeant' (Hutteni *Opera*, i. 167, ed. Böcking). But 20 Jan. 1520 he wrote to Melanchthon, in the name of Franz von Sickingen, 1481-1523, and from his castle of Landstuhl, 'At nunc scribere Luthero ipse heros iubet, si quid in causa sua patiatur adversi, nec melius aliunde remedium sit, ad se ut veniat, effecturum pro eo quod possit: potest autem tantum pro Capnione quantum perfecit' (*ibid.* 321). Similar offers came from a Franconian nobleman, Sylvester von Schauenburg; and Luther writes gratefully, 17 July 1520, 'securum me fecit S. Schauenberg et F. Sickingen ab hominum timore' (de Wette, i. 469). But nothing came of the affair. Luther's aims were religious; those of

Hutten and the lesser nobles political. In April 1520 Hutten published two dialogues: [No. 32] *Vadiscus* or *Trias Romana* (*Opera*, iv. 262 sq.), in which he lashes the Court of Rome, and [No. 33] *Inspicientes* (*ibid.* 301 sqq.), in which he assigns the drunken stupidity of his fellow countrymen as the reason why they are exploited by Italians. Luther could not but have been aware that his cause had now become the cause of Germany, and was powerfully supported by national feeling. Certainly Hutten's methods were not his: 'Quid Huttenus petat,' he wrote to Spalatin 16 Jan. 1521 (de Wette, i. 543), 'vides. Nollem vi et caede pro Evangelio certari: ita scripsi ad hominem. Verbo victus est mundus, verbo servata est ecclesia; etiam verbo reparabitur': but Hutten's continued efforts to rally Germany against Rome, as illustrated, 11 Sept. 1520, by [No. 34] his letter to the Elector Frederick (*Opera*, i. 393 sqq.), were real services rendered to reform.

No. 32. *Vadiscus* or *Trias Romana*.

Tria urbis Romae dignitatem tuentur: autoritas pontificis, reliquiae sanctorum, et merx indulgentiarum.

Tria Roma reportantur; depravata conscientia, corruptus stomachus, et vacui loculi.

Tria maxime conservanda Roma interficit: bonam conscientiam, religionis zelum, et iusiurandum: ideo fugienda.

Tria si commemorantur, Roma deridet: maiorum exempla, pontificatum Petri, et extremum iudicium.

Tribus rebus abundat Roma: antiquitatibus, venenis, et vastitate.

Tria inde exsulant: simplicitas, continentia, et integritas.

Tria sunt Romanorum negotiatorum merces: Christus, sacerdotia, et mulieres.

Tria auditu Romae sunt gravissima: generale concilium, emendatio status ecclesiastici, et quod Germani oculos recipiunt.

Rursumque tria dolenter ferunt: principum Germanorum concordiam, populi intelligentiam, et quod suae fraudes innotescant.

Tria nunquam satis proveniunt Romae: episcoporum pallia, menses papales, et annatae.

Tribus opus est ei qui Romae lites habet: pecunia, literis commendatitiis, et mendacio.

Tria omne negotium Romae promovent: munera, favor, et

potentia. Sed favor conciliatur et ipse dando: cui quis inutiliter enim Romae favet?

Tria Germaniam hactenus sapere non permiserunt: principum ignavia, literarum imperitia, et vulgi superstitio.

Triplex inventum Romae consilium extorquendi ab exteris aurum: per indulgentiarum nundinas, per simulatas in Turcam expeditiones, et concessas legatis apud barbaros facultates.

Tria semper aguntur Romae, neque unquam peraguntur: animarum beatio, collapsarum aedium sacrarum restauratio, et in Turcas expeditio. Haec sunt tria illa quorum sub praetextu fiunt exactiones.

Tria sunt Romae in comperto: Romanorum virtus, Italorum versutia, et Germanorum inertia.

No. 33. Inspicientes.

Interlocutores—Sol, Phaethon, et Caietanus Legatus.

SOL. At ab antiquo potores sunt ac temulentiae dediti, neque unquam flagitium apud Germanos fuit inebriari.

PHAETHON. In uno eo discedant a vetustate, reliqua teneant.

SOL. Nimis magnos Germanos reddes, si tales reddes. Est hoc proprium illis vitium, ut fraus Italis, furacitas Hispanis, Gallis fastus, aliis alia.

PHAETHON. Si quidem adesse vitium oportet, malo esse hoc quam istorum quicquam; etsi hunc illis morbum adimere diem puto, ut alias hominibus aegritudines, vel te sperare hoc iubente. Sed ad concilium et legatum hunc Leonis redeamus: quiddam de pompa clamat huc, iracundia percitus, pater, et ira inflammatus, atque adeo nobis cum irasci arbitror, nam huc suspicit.

SOL. Mihi succenset: audi vero quid loquatur homuntio: quiddam minatur sublato supercilio insolenter.

CAIETANUS. Quem oportuit ad primum quemque meum nutum elucescere, solito etiam clarius et magis splendide.

SOL. Quid ais, Legate? quid ais? mihin' haec tu obiicis?

CAIETANUS. Tibi? quasi conscius tibi non sis ingentis piaculi.

SOL. Profecto non sum, nisi quid meruerim dicas.

CAIETANUS. Tandem, inquam, prodis, improbe? Tandem

ostendis mundo te? Quem oportuit ad primum quemque meum nutum elucescere, solito etiam clarius, et magis splendide?

SOL. Non video quid peccarim.

CAIETANUS. Non vides? qui decem nunc totos dies ne unum quidem radium ostendisti mihi, ita obducens de industria omnes tibi nubes, ac si inideas mundo lucem.

SOL. At astrologorum est ea culpa, siqua est, nam hi calculando invenerunt tale hoc fore tempus:

CAIETANUS. At magis oportuit videre te quid vellet pontificis Legatus, quam astrologis quid conveniat. Scin' Italia exiens quae interminatus sum tibi, ni vehementi ardore intempestive frigescentem Germaniam recalfaceres ac aestiviorem mihi redderes, ne Italiae necessario teneret me desiderium?

SOL. Neque hoc animadverti quid praeciperes mihi, neque unquam scivi quemquam mortalem soli imperare.

CAIETANUS. Non scivisti tu? atque hoc ignoras episcopum Romanum (qui nunc omnem suam in me vim transfudit legatum a latere) et caelo quae velit et terra ligare potenter ac solvere?

SOL. Audieram, sed non credebam esse quod ille iactitaret, neque enim adhuc quemquam mortalium quicquam hic imutare vidi.

CAIETANUS. Etiam non credis, male Christiane, tu? quem oportet, talis cum sis, excommunicatum statim Satanae tradi.

SOL. Satanae tu trades me caelo deiectum? et solem, quod aiunt, e mundo auferes?

CAIETANUS. Equidem faciam, nisi veniam petes a me confessione statim facta uni ex copiistis meis.

SOL. At ubi confessus ero, quid tum fiam?

CAIETANUS. Poenam tibi infligam dies aliquot iubens aut ieiunio macerare te, aut laborem quempiam ferre, aut peregrinationibus fatigari, aut eleemosynam expendere, aut verberari etiam pro delictis.

SOL. Dura conditio: post vero quid dabis?

CAIETANUS. Innocentem dicam tandem, et purum reddam.

SOL. At soli lumen inferes tu scilicet?

CAIETANUS. Si videbitur, etiam hoc vigore facultatum quas mihi concedit X. Leo.

SOL. Nugae! sic arbitraris fatuum quemquam mortalium etiam istorum ut haec te posse credat, nedum solem omnia desuper intuentem? proinde elleborum bibe, insanire mihi enim videris.

CAIETANUS. Insanire? de facto excommunicatus es, irreverenter loquutus pontificis legato: itaque magnis et inexpiables alligasti te execrationibus, quem ego excommunicatum paulo post pronuntiabo solenniter, aliqua advocata concione, in publico, quod sic commotum me reddideris.

PHIÆTHON. Oppedendum contra has, pater, minas duco; quid enim posset in divos mortalis hominum?

SOL. Immo contemnere oportet eum, etsi misericordia dignus videtur, ut ex morbo qui insaniat.

PHIÆTHON. Quo ex morbo?

SOL. Avaritia laborat: quia itaque aridere sibi in Germania negotium, ut se expleat, non videtur, in furias agitur et insaniam percitus est.

No. 34. Hutten to the Elector Frederick.

... Videmus non esse aurum in Germania, nec argentum paene; siquod reliquum vero est, ipsum avarissime ad se trahit novis cottidie inventis artibus ille sanctissimus Romanistarum senatus; ubi quid eripuerit vero, tum in pessimos confert usus. Vultis enim scire, Germani, quae vidi ipse, quid faciat Romae nostra pecunia? Nonnihil facit: partem in nepotes suos et cognatos profundit Decimus (habet autem ita multos ille tales, ut proverbio locum dederint 'Leonis Romae cognati et affines'), partem absumunt tot reverendissimi, quos triginta unum pater ille uno atque eodem creavit die: tot referendarii, tot auditores, prothonotarii, abbreviatores, scriptores apostolici, cunerarii, officiales et id genus alii principis ecclesiae primates. Nam hi post se trahunt maxima adhuc cum impensa copiistas, pedellos, cursopes, scopatores, muliones, stabularios, et scortorum utriusque sexus innumerabilem turbam ac lenonum exercitum. Alunt et canes, equos ac simias et cercopithecas et huiusmodi multa animi causa; domos vero exstruunt solido quidam e marmore, et gemmas habent, coenantes laute ac splendide vestiuntur, et genio indulgentes secure deliciantur: in summa nostrae pecuniae praesidio magna ociatur Romae pessimorum hominum multitudo. Nulla ibi religionis cura, magnus est contemptus, qualem vix apud Turcas esse arbitror. Fraudant, imponunt, furantur, mentiuntur, falsum obsignant, spe lucri omnia dicunt ac faciunt: propositum vero habent hi omnes pecuniis nostris insidiari; alii vivunt ut edant atque bibant et sumptuosissime deliciantur: nostrisque sumptibus

assequuntur hoc. . Has ob res, immensam, O Friderice, auri
 vim Romam quotannis hinc mittimus, nec adhuc intelligimus
 perdi quod sic elargimur: imo non perdi rem tantum, sed
 materiam fieri adhuc magnorum infinite laborum. Itaque si
 philosophari libet ob idque pecuniam abicere decretum est,
 patent tot in propinquo maria, sunt fluvii, ille apud nos
 Moganus, ultra Rhenus, tuus istic Albis, atque alii; demittamus
 eo ut perdatur ipsa potius quam perditionis causa sit ubique
 multis, dum istam pascimus turpitudinem Romae superflue
 adeo ut huc nonnihil inde redundet, dum hanc alimus publicam
 morum pestem, hanc ipsi fovemus vitae contagionem. Sed
 non abiciemus: tantum transferri alio non sinamus. Haec
 prima et optima est destruendae illius tyrannidis via, hic
 modus: certe enim subducto hoc luxuriae fomento minus se
 efferent, tractabiliores passim erunt. Postea duce aliquo
 Othone illum censebimus senatum, urbem Romam lustrabimus,
 et eiectis malis compluribus paucos quosdam sua illic sacra
 curare iubebimus, regnare non permittemus. Ipsi imperatori,
 siquidem esse volet, imperii sedem reddemus: Romanum
 pontificem, ut aequalitas episcoporum sit, in ordinem redi-
 gemus. Sacerdotum etiam hic censum minuemus, ipsos ad
 frugalitatem perducemus et pauciores faciemus, centesimo
 quoque delecto. De iis vero qui fratres vocantur quid
 statuemus? Quid enim aliud quam quod ego censeo, abo-
 lendum omne monachorum genus. . . His tot Germaniam
 atterentibus magisque ac magis omnia devorantibus ablatis,
 simul ea qua in nos feruntur Romanistae diripiendi licentia
 adempta, multum hic auri, multum erit argenti. Verum id,
 quantumcunque nobis aut quaecumque relinquetur, in meliores
 verti usus poterit, nempe ut alantur magni exercitus et imperii
 propagentur fines, etiam Turcae, si videbitur, debellantur; ut
 multi qui propter penuriam furantur nunc et rapiunt, stipendiis
 tunc vivant; ut qui aliter egent, publicitus quo inopiam tolerant
 accipiant, utque doctissimi alantur homines et literarum studia
 foveantur: in summa ut virtuti praemia sint, internaeque
 egestatis habeatur ratio, ignavia exsulet, fraus occidat. Hoc
 videntes Bohemi per omnia nobiscum facient: nam ante,
 quod adversus avaros sacerdotes sibi consulissent, prohibiti
 erant: facient et Graeci, qui cum ferre nec vellent nec possent
 Romanam tyrannidem, Romanorum pontificum instinctu pro
 schismaticis sunt habiti multo iam tempore; ac Rutheni erunt
 nostri, qui cum esse nuper vellent, repulsi a Sanctissimo sunt,
 iubente pendere sibi aureorum quotannis quater centena millia.

Etiam Turcae minus oderint, nec ulli ethnici calumniandi ut prius occasionem habebunt : hactenus enim eorum qui religioni praefuerunt, vitae turpitudine odibile apud alienos Christianum nomen reddidit . . . Ex Ebernburgo, tertia Idus Septembres.

XVIII

THE THREE TREATISES OF 1520

On 12 Jan. 1519 Maximilian died, and on 27 June his grandson Charles V was elected Emperor, 1519-56. Charles was born at Ghent, 1500, and succeeded to a vast inheritance, which included the Netherlands and Burgundy, Spain, Austria, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, with the New World. He was thus a prince of German blood, who added unwonted resources to the imperial crown. He was also reputed to be favourable to reform. Thus, when, early in 1520 (de Wette, i. 421), Eck was in Rome busy with the proceedings that ended in the Bull of Excommunication, issued on 15 June, Luther addressed himself to 'the young and noble sovereign' by whom 'God has roused great hopes in many hearts', in a treatise of August 1520, entitled [No. 35] **To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate**. It was an appeal in German directed to the laity, urging them to take reform in hand for themselves, on the ground that, in virtue of their priesthood, spiritual authority rested with them. In October Luther sought to justify this position by a second treatise addressed in Latin to theologians, [No. 36] **De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium** (*Opera Lat.* v. 16 sqq.). 'In the seven sacraments with which the Church accompanied and controlled the life of the Christian from the cradle to the grave, he saw nothing but an attempt to bring it all under the power of the priest; there was nothing but a Captivity and Rome was the modern Babylon' (Kidd, *Continental Reformation*, 22). A third treatise [No. 37], **Concerning Christian Liberty**, was no polemic, but, in intention at least, an eirenicon, to be sent under a covering letter to Leo X, which, though of 13 Oct. or after (de Wette, i. 497), was antedated (by a last arrangement with Miltitz at Lichtenberg 11 Oct.) to 6 Sept., so as to seem to have been dispatched before the Bull of Excommunication was published in Saxony. All three treatises are translated in Wace and Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, 157 sqq. (2nd ed., 1896), and are of the first importance for the study of the Lutheran theology.

No. 35. To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.

The Romanists have, with great adroitness, drawn three walls round themselves, with which they have hitherto protected themselves, so that no one could reform them, whereby all Christendom has fallen terribly.

First, if pressed by the temporal power, they have affirmed and maintained that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, but, on the contrary, that the spiritual power is above the temporal.

Secondly, if it were proposed to admonish them with the Scriptures, they objected that no one may interpret the Scriptures but the Pope.

Thirdly, if they are threatened with a council, they pretend that no one may call a council but the Pope . . .

Now may God help us, and give us one of those trumpets that overthrew the walls of Jericho, so that we may blow down these walls of straw and paper, and that we may set free our Christian rods for the chastisement of sin, and expose the craft and deceit of the devil, so that we may amend ourselves by punishment and again obtain God's favour.

Let us, in the first place, attack the first wall.

It has been devised that the Pope, bishops, priests, and monks are called the spiritual estate; princes, lords, artificers, and peasants, are the temporal estate. This is an artful lie and hypocritical device, but let no one be made afraid by it, and that for this reason: that all Christians are truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them, save of office alone. As St. Paul says (1 Cor. xii), we are all one body, though each member does its own work, to serve the others. This is because we have one baptism, one Gospel, one faith, and are all Christians alike; for baptism, Gospel, and faith, these alone make spiritual and Christian people.

As for the unction by a pope or a bishop, tonsure, ordination, consecration, and clothes differing from those of laymen—all this may make a hypocrite or an anointed puppet, but never a Christian or a spiritual man. Thus we are all consecrated as priests by baptism, as St. Peter says: 'Ye are a royal priesthood, a holy nation (1 Pet. ii. 9); and in the book of Revelation: 'and hast made us unto our God (by Thy blood) kings and priests' (Rev. v. 10). For, if we had not a higher

consecration in us than pope or bishop can give, no priest could ever be made by the consecration of pope or bishop, nor could he say the mass or preach or absolve. Therefore the bishop's consecration is just as if in the name of the whole congregation he took one person out of the community; each member of which has equal power, and commanded him to exercise this power for the rest; in the same way as if ten brothers, co-heirs as king's sons, were to choose one from among them to rule over their inheritance, they would all of them still remain kings and have equal power, although one is ordered to govern.

And to put the matter more plainly, if a little company of pious Christian laymen were taken prisoners and carried away to a desert, and had not among them a priest consecrated by a bishop, and were there to agree to elect one of them . . . and were to order him to baptise, to celebrate the mass, to absolve and to preach, this man would as truly be a priest, as if all the bishops and all the popes had consecrated him. That is why, in cases of necessity, every man can baptise and absolve, which would not be possible if we were not all priests. This great grace and virtue of baptism and of the Christian estate they have quite destroyed and made us forget by their ecclesiastical law . . .

Since then the temporal power is baptized as we are, and has the same faith and Gospel, we must allow it to be priest and bishop, and account its office an office that is proper and useful to the Christian community. For whatever issues from baptism may boast that it has been consecrated priest, bishop, and pope, although it does not beseech every one to exercise these offices. For, since we are all priests alike, no man may put himself forward or take upon himself without our consent and election, to do that which we have all alike power to do. For if a thing is common to all, no man may take it to himself without the wish and command of the community. And if it should happen that a man were appointed to one of these offices and deposed for abuses, he would be just what he was before. Therefore a priest should be nothing in Christendom but a functionary; as long as he holds his office, he has precedence of others; if he is deprived of it, he is a peasant or a citizen like the rest. Therefore a priest is verily no longer a priest after deposition. But now they have invented *characteres indelibiles*, and pretend that a priest after deprivation still differs from a simple layman. They even imagine that

a priest can never be anything but a priest—that is, that he can never become a layman. All this is nothing but mere talk and ordinance of human invention.

It follows, then, that between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, or, as they call it, between spiritual and temporal persons, the only real difference is one of office and function, and not of estate. . . .

. . . Therefore I say, Forasmuch as the temporal power has been ordained by God for the punishment of the bad and the protection of the good, we must let it do its duty throughout the whole Christian body, without respect of persons, whether it strike popes, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, or whoever it may be. . . .

Whatever the ecclesiastical law has said in opposition to this is merely the invention of Romanist arrogance. . . .

Now, I imagine the first paper wall is overthrown, inasmuch as the temporal power has become a member of the Christian body; although its work relates to the body, yet does it belong to the spiritual estate. . . .

The second wall is even more tottering and weak: that they alone pretend to be considered masters of the Scriptures. . . . If the article of our faith is right, 'I believe in the holy Christian Church,' the Pope cannot alone be right; else we must say, 'I believe in the Pope of Rome,' and reduce the Christian Church to one man, which is a devilish and damnable heresy. Besides that, we are all priests, as I have said, and have all one faith, one Gospel, one Sacrament; how then should we not have the power of discerning and judging what is right or wrong in matters of faith? . . .

The third wall falls of itself, as soon as the first two have fallen; for if the Pope acts contrary to the Scriptures, we are bound to stand by the Scriptures to punish and to constrain him, according to Christ's commandment . . . 'tell it unto the Church' (Matt. xviii. 15-17). . . . If then I am to accuse him before the Church, I must collect the Church together. . . . Therefore when need requires, and the Pope is a cause of offence to Christendom, in these cases whoever can best do so, as a faithful member of the whole body, must do what he can to procure a true free council. This no one can do so well as the temporal authorities, especially since they are fellow-Christians, fellow-priests. . . .

No. 36. De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium.

... Principio neganda mihi sunt septem sacramenta et tantum tria pro tempore ponenda, baptismus, poenitentia, panis; et haec omnia esse per Romanam Curiam nobis in miserabilem captivitatem ducta ecclesiamque sua tota libertate spoliata...

[De coena Domini] Duo itaque sunt loci, qui de hac re clarissime tractant, Scriptura evangelica in coena Domini, et Paulus 1 Cor. xi: quos videamus. Consonant enim sibi Matthaeus, Marcus, et Lucas, Christum dedisse discipulis omnibus totum sacramentum, et Paulum utramque tradidisse partem certum est. ... His adde quod Matthaeus refert non de pane Christum dixisse, Manducate ex hoc omnes, sed de calice, Bibite ex hoc omnes. Et Marcus item non dicit, Manducaverunt omnes, sed Biberunt ex eo omnes, uterque universitatis notam ad calicem non ad panem ponens, quasi Spiritus futurum hoc schisma praeviderit quod calicis communionem prohiberet aliquibus quem Christus omnibus voluerit esse communem. ... Concludo itaque, negare utramque speciem laicis, esse impium et tyrannicum, nec in manu ullius angeli, nedum papae et concilii cuiuscunque. ...

Prima ergo captivitas huius sacramenti est quoad eius substantiam seu integritatem, quam nobis abstulit Romana tyrannis. Non quod peccent in Christum qui una specie utuntur ... sed quod illi peccant qui hoc arbitrio volentibus uti prohibent utramque dari. Culpa non est in laicis, sed sacerdotibus. Sacramentum non est sacerdotum sed omnium: nec domini sunt sacerdotes sed ministri, debentes reddere utramque speciem petentibus, quotiescunque petierint. Quod si hoc ius raperint laicis et vi negaverint, tyranni sunt, laici sine culpa, vel una vel utraque carent: fide interim servandi, et desiderio integri sacramenti ... Itaque non hoc ago ut vi rapiatur utraque species, quasi necessitate praecepti ad eam cogamur, sed conscientiam instruo, ut patiaturs quisque tyrannidem Romanam, sciens sibi raptum per vim ius suum in sacramento propter peccatum suum. ...

Altera captivitas eiusdem sacramenti mitior est quod ad conscientiam spectat, sed quam multo omnium periculosissimum sit tangere, nedum damnare. Hic Viglephista, et sexcentis nominibus haereticus ero. ... Dedit mihi quondam, cum theologiam scholasticam haurirem, occasionem cogitandi D.

Cardinalis Cameracensis,¹ libro Sententiarum IV acutissime disputans, Multo probabilius esse et minus superfluum miraculorum poni si in altari verus panis verumque vinum, non autem sola accidentia esse astruerentur, nisi ecclesia determinasset contrarium. Postea, videns quae esset ecclesia quae hoc determinasset, nempe Thomistica, hoc est, Aristotelica, audacior factus sum, et qui inter saxum et sacrum haerebam, tandem stabilivi conscientiam meam sententia priore: esse videlicet verum panem verumque vinum, in quibus Christi vera caro verusque sanguis non aliter nec minus sit, quam illi sub accidentibus suis ponunt. Quod feci, quia vidi Thomistarum opiniones, sive probentur a papa sive a concilio, manere opiniones, nec fieri articulos fidei, etiamsi angelus de coelo aliud statueret. Nam quod sine Scripturis asserit aut revelatione probata, opinari licet, credi non est necesse. . . .

Permitto itaque, qui volet utramque opinionem tenere: hoc solum nunc ago ut scrupulos conscientiarum de medio tollam, ne quis se reum haereseos metuat, si in altari verum panem verumque vinum esse crediderit. . . .

Est autem meae sententiae ratio magna, imprimis illa quod verbis divinis non est ulla facienda vis . . . sed, quantum fieri potest, in simplicissima significatione servanda sunt; et, nisi manifesta circumstantia cogat, extra grammaticam et propriam accipienda non sunt, ne detur adversariis occasio universam Scripturam eludendi. Quo consilio recte Origenes olim repudiatus est, quod ligna et omnia, quae de paradiso scribuntur, grammatica locutione contempta, in allegorias verterit, cum hinc possit duci ligna non esse creata a Deo. Ita et hic, cum evangelistae clare scribant, Christum accepisse panem ac benedixisse, et Actuum liber, et Paulus apostolus panem deinceps appellent, verum oportet intelligi panem, verumque vinum, sicut verum calicem. Non enim calicem transubstantiari etiam ipsi dicunt. Transubstantiationem vero potestate divina factam cum non sit necesse poni, pro figmento humanae opinionis haberi, quia nulla Scriptura, nulla ratione nititur. . . .

Cur autem non possit Christus corpus suum intra substantiam panis continere, sicut in accidentibus? Ecce ignis et ferrum duae substantiae sic miscentur in ferro ignito, ut quaelibet pars sit ferrum et ignis. Cur non multo magis corpus gloriosum Christi sic in omni parte substantiae panis esse possit? . . .

¹ Pierre d'Ailly, 1350-†1420, Cardinal of Cambray.

Tertia captivitas eiusdem sacramenti est longe impiissimus ille abusus, quo factum est, ut fere nihil sit hodie in ecclesia receptius ac magis persuasum quam missam esse opus bonum et sacrificium. Qui abusus deinde inundavit infinitos alios abusus, donec fide sacramenti penitus extincta meras nundinas, cauponationes, et quaestuarios quosdam contractus e divino sacramento fecerint. Hinc participationes, fraternitates, suffragia, merita, anniversaria, memoriae, et id genus negotiorum in ecclesia venduntur, emuntur, paciscuntur, componuntur, pendetque in his universa alimonia sacerdotum et monachorum. . . .

Stet ergo primum et infallibiliter, missam seu sacramentum altaris esse testamentum Christi, quod moriens post se reliquit, distribuendum suis fidelibus. Sic enim habent eius verba: Hic calix novum testamentum, in meo sanguine. . . .

Quaeramus ergo, quid sit testamentum, et simul habebimus quid sit missa, quis usus, quis fructus, quis abusus eius. Testamentum absque dubio est promissio morituri, qua nuncupat haereditatem suam, et instituit haeredes. Involvit itaque testamentum primo mortem testatoris, deinde haereditatis promissionem, et haeredis nuncupationem. Sic enim Paulus Rom. iv et Gal. iii [15] et iv [24] et Ebrae. ix [16] diffuse testamentum tractat. Quod et in verbis istis Christi clare videmus. Mortem suam Christus testatur, dum dicit: Hoc est corpus meum, quod tradetur: hic sanguis meus qui effundetur. Haereditatem nuncupat et designat, cum dicit: In remissionem peccatorum. Haeredes autem instituit, cum dicit: Pro vobis et pro multis, id est, qui acceptant et credunt promissioni testatoris; fides enim hic haeredes facit, ut videbimus.

Vides ergo quod missa, quam vocamus, sit promissio remissionis peccatorum, a Deo nobis facta, et talis promissio, quae per mortem Filii Dei firmata sit. . . .

Ex quibus iam sua sponte patet, quis sit usus et abusus missae, quae digna vel indigna praeparatio. Si enim promissio est, ut dictum est, nullis operibus, nullis viribus, nullis meritis, ad eam acceditur, sed sola fide. Ubi enim est verbum promittentis Dei, ibi necessaria est fides acceptantis hominis. . . .

Videmus ex his, quam grandi ira Dei factum sit, ut verba testamenti huius nos celarint impii doctores, atque per hoc ipsum fidem exstinxerunt, quantum in eis fuit. Iam primum est videre quid ad fidem extinctam sequi fuit necesse, nempe superstitiones operum impiissimas. Ubi enim fides occidit, et verbum fidei obmutescit, ibi mox surgunt opera in locum

eius, et traditiones operum. Quibus ceu captivitate Babylonica translatus sumus de terra nostra, captis omnibus desiderabilibus nostris. Ita de missa contigit, quae impiorum hominum doctrina mutata est in opus bonum, quod ipsi vocant opus operatum, quo apud Deum sese omnia praesumunt posse. Inde processum est ad extremum insaniae, ut, quia missam ex vi operis operati valere mentiti sunt, adiecerunt eam non minus utilem esse caeteris, etiamsi ipsi impio sacrificio noxia sit. Atque in hanc arenam fundaverunt suas applicationes, participationes, et fraternitates, anniversaria, et id genus infinita lucri et quaestus negotia. . . .

Hoc autem facile admitto, orationes quas ad missam percipiendam congregati coram Deo effundimus, esse bona opera seu beneficia, quae nobis mutuo impartimus, applicamus et communicamus, et pro invicem offerimus. . . . Sed quis sacerdotum hoc nomine sacrificat, ut solas orationes arbitretur sese offerre? Omnes imaginantur sese offerre ipsum Christum Deo Patri tanquam hostiam sufficientissimam, et bonum opus facere omnibus, quibus proponunt prodesse, quia confidunt in opere operati quod orationi non tribuunt. Sic paulatim errore crescente, id quod orationum est, tribuerunt sacramento; et quod recipere beneficium debent, id obtulerunt Deo.

Quare acute discernendum est inter testamentum sacramentumque ipsum et inter orationes, quas simul oramus; nec id solum sed scire quoque oportet orationes prorsus nihil valere nec oranti ipsi nec iis, pro quibus orantur, nisi primum testamentum fide perceptum sit, ut fides oret quae sola exauditur. . . .; adeo longe aliud est oratio quam missa. Orationem possum extendere in quotquot voluero, missam nemo accipit nisi qui per se ipsum credit et tantum quantum credit. . . . Est ergo certum missam non esse opus aliis communicabile, sed obiectum. . . . fidei, propriae cuiusque alendae et roborandae.

Iam et alterum scandalum amovendum est, quod multo grandius est et speciosissimum, id est, quod missa creditur passim esse sacrificium quod offertur Deo; in quam opinionem et verba canonis sonare videntur, ubi dicitur: Haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia; et infra: Hanc oblationem. Item clarissime postulatur, ut acceptum sit sacrificium sicut sacrificium Abel, etc. Inde Christus hostia altaris dicitur. Accedunt his dicta S. Patrum, tot exempla tantusque usus per orbem constanter observatus.

His omnibus, quia pertinacissime insederunt, oportet constantissime opponere verba. . . . Christi. Nisi enim missam

obtinuerimus esse promissionem Christi seu testamentum, ut verba clare sonant, totum evangelium et universum solatium amittimus. Nihil contra haec verba permittamus praevalere, etiamsi angelus de coelo aliud docuerit. Nihil enim de opere vel sacrificio in illis continetur . . . Quare sicut repugnat testamentum distribui seu promissionem accipere et sacrificare sacrificium, ita repugnat missam esse sacrificium; cum illam recipiamus, hoc vero demus. Idem autem simul recipi et offerri non potest, nec ab eodem simul dari et acceptari. Non niagis certe quam oratio et impetrata res queunt idem esse, nec idem sit orare et orata accipere.

Quid ergo dicemus ad canonem et auctoritates Patrum? . . . Respondeo: Si nihil habetur quod dicatur, tutius est omnia negare quam missam concedere opus aut sacrificium esse, ne verbum Christi negemus, fidem simul cum missa pessumdantes. . . .

[De sacramento Baptismi] Benedictus Deus et Pater D.N.I.C. qui . . . saltem hoc unicum sacramentum servavit in ecclesia sua illibatum et incontaminatum a constitutionibus hominum. . . .

Verum ubi virtutem baptismi in parvulis non potuit Satan extinguere, praevaluit tamen ut in omnibus adultis exstingeret, ut iam fere nemo sit, qui sese baptizatum recordetur, nedum gloriatur, tot repertis aliis viis remittendorum peccatorum et in coelum veniendi. Praebuit his opinionibus occasionem verbum illud periculosum divi Hieronymi, sive male positum sive male intellectum, quo poenitentiam appellat secundam post naufragium tabulam, quasi baptismus non sit poenitentia. Hinc enim, ubi in peccatum lapsi fuerint, de prima tabula seu nave desperantes velut amissa, secundae tantum incipiunt niti et fidere tabulae, id est, poenitentiae. Hinc nata sunt votorum, religionum, operum, satisfactionum, peregrinationum, indulgentiarum, sectarum infinita illa onera, et de iis maria illa librorum, quaestionum, opinionum, traditionum humanarum, quas totus mundus iam non capit, ut incomparabiliter peius habet ecclesiam Dei ea tyrannis, quam unquam habuit synagogam aut ullam nationem sub coelo. . . .

Primum itaque in baptismo observanda est divina promissio, quae dicit: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Quae promissio praefenda est incomparabiliter universis pompis operum, votorum, religionum, et quicquid humanitus est introductum. . . .

Pro hac duntaxat clamo libertate et conscientia, clamoque fidenter: Christianis nihil ullo iure posse imponi legum, sive

ab hominibus sive ab angelis, nisi quantum volunt, liberi enim sumus ab omnibus. Quodsi quae imponuntur, sic ferenda sunt, ut libertatis conscientia salva sit, quae sciat et certo affirmet, iniuriam sibi fieri, quam cum gloria ferat, ita cavens ne iustificet tyrannum, ut ne murmuret contra tyrannidem. . . . Attamen quia hanc baptismi gloriam et libertatis Christianae felicitatem pauci noverunt, nec prae tyrannide papae nosse possunt, ipse me hic expedio, et conscientiam meam redimo, compellens papam et omnes papistas, quod nisi sua iura et traditiones sustulerint, et ecclesiis Christi libertatem suam restituerint, eamque doceri fecerint, reos esse eos omnium animarum, quae hac misera captivitate pereunt, esseque papatum aliud revera nihil quam regnum Babylonis et veri antichristi. Quis enim est homo peccati et filius perditionis, quam is qui suis doctrinis ac statutis peccata et perditionem animarum auget in ecclesia, sedens tamen in ecclesia sicut Deus. . . .

Opponetur forsitan iis, quae dicta sunt, baptismus parvulorum, qui promissionem Dei non capiant, nec fidem baptismi habere possunt, ideoque aut non requiri fidem, aut parvulos frustra baptizari. Hic dico, quod omnes dicunt fide aliena parvulis succurri illorum qui offerunt eos. Sicut enim verbum Dei potens est, dum sonat, etiam impii cor immutare, quod non minus est surdum et incapax quam ullus parvulus, ita per orationem ecclesiae offerentis et credentis, cui omnia possibilia sunt, et parvulus fide infusa mutatur, mundatur et renovatur. Nec dubitarem etiam adultum impium, eadem ecclesia orante et offerente, posse in quovis sacramento mutari, sicut de paralytico evangelico legimus aliena fide sanato. . . .

Unum hic addo, quod utinam cunctis queam persuadere, id est, ut vota prorsus omnia tollerentur aut vitarentur, sive sint religionum, sive peregrinationum, sive quorumcunque operum, maneremusque in libertate religiosissima et operosissima baptismi. Dici non potest quantum detrahat baptismus et obsceuret scientiam libertatis Christianae opinio illa votorum, plus nimio celebris, ut interim taceam infanda etiam eaque infinita pericula animarum, quae vivendi ista libido inconsultaque temeritas quotidie auget. . . .

[De sacramento Poenitentiae] Tertio hoc loco de poenitentiae sacramento dicendum. . . .

Primum huius sacramenti et capitale malum est, quod sacramentum ipsum in totum aboleverunt, ne vestigio quidem eius relicto. Nam cum et ipsum, sicut et alia duo, constet verbo promissionis divinae et fide nostra, utrumque subvertebant, nam

verbum promissionis, ubi Christus dicit Matt. xvi [19]: Quodcumque ligaveris, etc.; et xviii [18]: Quodcumque ligaveritis, etc.; et Joh. ult.: Quorum remisistis peccata, remittuntur eis etc., quibus provocatur fides poenitentium pro remissione peccatorum impetranda, suae tyrannidi aptaverunt. Universis enim suis libris, studiis, sermonibus non hoc egerunt, ut docerent quid Christianis in his verbis promissum esset, quid credere deberent, et quantum consolationis haberent, sed quam late, longe, profunde ipsi potentia et violentia tyrannizarent, donec quidam et angelis in coelo coeperint mandare et iactent . . . se coelestis et terreni imperii iura in his accepisse, atque in coelis etiam ligandi potestatem habere. Ita prorsus nihil de fide salutaris populi, sed de potestate tyrannica pontificum omnia blaterant, cum Christus nihil de potestate sed de fide omnia agat . . .

Non hoc contenta Babylonia nostra fidem quoque adeo extinxit, ut impudenti fronte eam negaret necessariam esse in sacramento isto, imo antichristica impietate definiret haeresim esse, si fidem necessariam quis esse assereret . . . Obliteratis itaque ac subversis promissione et fide videamus quid substituerint in locum earum. Tres partes dederunt poenitentiae, contritionem, confessionem, satisfactionem, sed sic ut in singulis si quid boni inesset tollerent, et in eisdem quoque suam libidinem et tyrannidem constituerent.

Principio, contritionem sic docuerunt ut eam fide promissionis priorem facerent, et longe viliorem, ut quae non esset fidei opus sed meritum; imo non memorantur eam. Sic enim operibus inhaeserunt et exemplis Scripturarum, in quibus leguntur multi veniam consecuti propter cordis contritionem et humilitatem, sed non advertunt fidem quae contritionem et dolorem cordis operata est, sicut de Ninivitis Iona iii [5] scribitur: Et crediderunt viri Ninivitae in Domino, et praedicaverunt ieiunium, etc. His audaciores et peiores finxerunt quandam attritionem, quae virtute clavium (quam ignorant) fieret contritio, eam donant impiis et incredulis, ut sic universa contritio aboleretur. O iram Dei insustentabilem, haecce in ecclesia Christi doceri? Sic securi et fide et opere eius abolito in doctrinis et opinionibus hominum incedimus, imo perimus. Magna res est cor contritum, nec nisi ardentis in promissionem et comminationem divinam fidei, quae veritatem Dei immobilem intuita tremefacit, exterret, et sic conterit conscientiam, rursus exaltat et solatur servatque contritam, ut veritas comminationis sit causa contritionis, veritas promissionis sit solatii, si credatur, et hac fide homo mereatur peccatorum remissionem. Proinde

fides ante omnia docenda et provocanda est, fide autem obtenta contritio et consolatio inevitabili sequela sua sponte venient. . .

Confessio vero et satisfactio egregiae officinae factae sunt lucri et potentiae. De confessione prius. Non est dubium confessionem peccatorum esse necessariam, et divinitus mandatam . . . Occulta autem confessio, quae modo celebratur, etsi probari ex Scriptura non possit, miro modo tamen placet, et utilis, imo necessaria est, nec vellem eam non esse, imo gaudeo eam esse in ecclesia Christi, cum sit ipsa afflictis conscientiiis unicum remedium: siquidem detecta fratri nostro conscientia et malo, quod latebat, familiariter revelato, verbum solatii recipimus ex ore fratris, a Deo prolatum, quod fide suscipientes pacatos nos facimus in misericordia Dei per fratrem nobis loquentis. Hoc solum detestor, esse eam confessionem in tyrannidem et exactionem pontificum redactam. Nam et occulta sibi reservant, deinde nominatis a se confessoribus revelari mandant, ad vexandas scilicet hominum conscientias. . . . Quin ea potissimum reservant sibi impii tyranni, quae minoris sunt momenti, magna vero passim relinquunt vulgo sacerdotum, qualia sunt ridicula illa et conficta in bulla coenae Domini. Imo quo sit manifestior perversitatis impietas, ea quae contra cultum Dei, fideni et prima praecepta sunt, non modo non reservant, sed et docent et probant, qualia sunt discursus illi peregrinationum, cultus perversi sanctorum, mendaces legendae sanctorum, varia fiducia et exercitia operum et ceremoniarum, quibus omnibus fides Dei exstinguitur, et idolatria fovetur. . .

Satisfactionem quam indigne tractarint, abunde dixi in causis indulgentiarum. . . . Quae monstra tibi debemus, Romana sedes, et tuis homicidis legibus et ritibus, quibus mundum totum eo perdidisti, ut arbitrentur sese posse Deo per opera pro peccatis satisfacere, cui sola fide cordis contriti satisfit; quam tu his tumultibus non solum taceri facis sed opprimis etiam, tantum ut habeat sanguisuga tua insatiabilis, quibus dicat: Affer, Affer, et peccata vendat. . .

No. 37. Letter to Leo X on the treatise 'Concerning Christian Liberty.'

. . . Quare, optime Leo, his me literis rogo expurgatum admittas, tibi que persuadeas, me nihil unquam de persona tua mali cogitasse: deinde me talem esse, qui tibi optima velim contingere in aeternum. . .

Sedem autem tuam, quae Curia Romana dicitur, quam neque

tu, neque ullus hominum potest negare, corruptiorem esse quavis Babylone et Sodoma . . . sane detestatus sum, indigneque tui, sub tuo nomine et praetextu Romanae Ecclesiae, ludi Christi populum: atque ita restiti, resistamque, dum spiritus fidei in me vixerit. . . . Neque enim aliud e Roma iam a multis annis inundat, quod non ignoras ipse, quam vastitas rerum, corporum, animarum, et omnium pessimiarum rerum pessima exempla. Luce enim haec omnia clariora sunt, et facta est e Romana Ecclesia, quondam omnium sanctissima, spelunca latronum licentiosissima, lupanar omnium impudentissimum, regnum peccati, mortis et inferni, ut ad malitiam quod accedat, iam cogitari non possit, ne Antichristus quidem, si venerit.

Interim tu, Leo, sicut agnus in medio luporum sedes, sicut Daniel in medio leonum, et cum Ezechiele inter scorpiones habitas. Quid his monstis unus opponas? Adde tibi cruditissimos et optimos Cardinales tres aut quattuor: quid hi inter tantos? ante veneno omnibus pereundum vobis, quam de remedio statuere praesumeretis. Actum est de Romana Curia, pervenit in eam ira Dei usque in finem. Concilia odit, reformari metuit, furorem impietatis suae mitigare nequit. . . . Hac affectione tractus dolui semper, optime Leo, his saeculis te Pontificem factum, qui melioribus dignus eras. Non enim Romana Curia meretur te tuique similes, sed Satanam ipsum, qui et vere plus quam tu in Babylone ista regnat. . . .

In fine, ne vacuus advenirem B.T., mecum affero tractatulum hunc, sub tuo nomine editum, velut auspicio pacis componendae et bonae spei. . . . Parva res est, si corpus spectes; sed summa, ni fallor, vitae Christianae compendio congesta, si sententiam captes. . . .

Wittenbergae, anno MDXX, sexta Septembris.

XIX

THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF LUTHER, 1520

[No. 38] *The Bull of Excommunication* (*Magn. Bull. Rom.* i. 610 sqq.) was issued in Rome 15 June 1520: and, by a mistake of policy which Pallavicini himself regrets (*Hist. Conc. Trid.* I. xx. 2), entrusted to Eck for promulgation. He published it in Leipzig, 29 Sept., and in Wittenberg, 3 Oct. (de Wette, i. 494). But so far from crushing Luther, it rallied Germany to his side; for, as the Elector Frederick had written, 1 April, 'Lutheri doctrina ita iam passim in plurimorum animis in Germania et alibi infixae radices egit, ut si non veris ac firmis argumentis et perspicuis testimoniis Scripturae revincatur, sed solo ecclesiasticae potestatis terrore ad eum opprimendum pro-

cedatur, non videatur res sic abitura quin in Germania acerrimas offensiones et horribiles ac exitiales tumultus excitatura sit, unde nec ad S. D. N. Pontificem nec aliis quidquam utilitatis redire poterit' (*Lutheri Op. Lat.* v. 9). Accordingly when, early in Nov., the Bull was presented to him at Köln by the papal envoys, Caracciolo and Aleander, the Elector demanded 'ut omnia qua res coepta est agi via, navetis operam ita agendi causam istam ut aequis, eruditis, piis et non suspectis iudicibus . . . audiat: nec libri Lutheri, ipso neque audito neque convicto, comburantur' (*ibid.* v. 247). But Luther's books were burnt both at Louvain and at Köln: and, after renewing his appeal to a General Council, 17 Nov. (*ibid.* 119 sqq.), he broke finally with Rome and retaliated by burning the Papal Bull and the Decretals at Wittenberg, 10 Dec. 1520.

No. 38. The Bull 'Exsurge Domine'.

Exsurge, Domine, et iudica causam tuam. . . . Exsurge, Petre, et pro pastoralis cura . . . tibi . . . divinitus demandata, intende in causam S. R. E., matris omnium ecclesiarum, ac fidei magistrae. . . . Exsurge tu quoque, quaesumus, Paule, qui eam tua doctrina . . . illuminasti. . . . Iam enim surgit novus Porphyrius. . . . Exsurgat denique omnis sanctorum ac reliqua universalis ecclesia . . . Exsurgat, inquam, praefata ecclesia sancta Dei et una cum beatissimis apostolis praefatis, apud Deum omnipotentem intercedat, ut, purgatis ovium suarum erroribus eliminatisque a fidelium finibus haeresibus universis, ecclesiae suae sanctae pacem et unitatem conservare dignetur.

§ 1. Dudum siquidem, quod prae animi angustia et moerore exprimere vix possumus . . . ad nostrum pervenit auditum, imo vero, proh dolor! oculis nostris vidimus ac legimus multos et varios errores, quosdam videlicet iam per concilia ac praedecessorum nostrorum constitutiones damnatos, haeresim etiam Graecorum et Bohemicam expresse continentes, . . . noviter suscitatos, et nuper . . . in inclyta natione Germanica seminatos. Quod eo magis dolemus ibi evenisse, quod eandem nationem et nos et praedecessores nostri, in visceribus semper gesserimus caritatis. Nam post translatum ex Graecis a Romana Ecclesia in eosdem Germanos imperium, iidem praedecessores nostri et nos ejusdem ecclesiae advocatos defensoresque ex eis semper accepimus. . . . Pro pastoralis igitur officii, divina gratia nobis iniuncti, cura quam gerimus, praedictorum errorum virus pestiferum ulterius tolerare . . . nullo modo possumus. Eorum autem errorum aliquos praesentibus duximus inserendos, quorum tenor sequitur, et est talis:—

§ 2. (1) Haeretica sententia est, sed usitata, sacramenta novae legis justificantem gratiam illis dare, qui non ponunt obicem.

(2) In puero post baptismum negare remanens peccatum, est Paulum et Christum simul conculcare.

(3) Fomes peccati, etiamsi nullum adsit actuale peccatum, moratur exeuntem a corpore animam ab ingressu coeli.

(4) Imperfecta caritas morituri fert secum necessario magnum timorem, qui se solo satis est facere poenam purgatorii, et impedit introitum regni.

(5) Tres esse partes poenitentiae: contritionem, confessionem et satisfactionem, non est fundatum in sacra Scriptura nec in antiquis sanctis Christianis doctoribus.

(6) Contritio, quae paratur per discussionem, collationem et detestationem peccatorum, qua quis recogitat annos suos in amaritudine animae suae, ponderando peccatorum gravitatem, multitudinem, foeditatem, amissionem aeternae beatitudinis, ac aeternae damnationis acquisitionem, haec contritio facit hypocritam, imo magis peccatorem.

(7) Verissimum est proverbium et omnium doctrina de contritionibus hucusque data praestantius: de caetero non facere, summa poenitentia: optima poenitentia, nova vita.

(8) Nullo modo praesumas confiteri peccata venialia, sed nec omnia mortalia, quia impossibile est, ut omnia mortalia cognoscas. Unde in primitiva Ecclesia solum manifesta mortalia confitebantur.

(9) Dum volumus omnia pure confiteri, nihil aliud facimus, quam quod misericordiae Dei nihil volumus relinquere ignoscendum.

(10) Peccata non sunt ulli remissa, nisi remittente sacerdote credat sibi remitti; imo peccatum maneret, nisi remissum crederet: non enim sufficit remissio peccati et gratiae donatio, sed oportet etiam credere esse remissum.

(11) Nullo modo confidas absolvi propter tuam contritionem, sed propter verbum Christi: Quodcumque solveris, etc. (Matt. xvi. 19). Hic, inquam, confide, si sacerdotis obtinueris absolutionem, et crede fortiter te absolutum, et absolutus vere eris, quidquid sit de contritione.

(12) Si per impossibile confessus non esset contritus, aut sacerdos non serio, sed ioco absolveret; si tamen credat se absolutum, verissime est absolutus.

(13) In sacramento Poenitentiae ac remissione culpae non plus facit Papa aut episcopus quam infimus sacerdos: imo,

ubi non est sacerdos, aequè tantum quilibet Christianus, etiam si mulier aut puer esset.

(14) Nullus debet sacerdoti respondere, se esse contritum, nec sacerdos requirere.

(15) Magnus est error eorum qui ad sacramenta Eucharistiae accedunt huic innixi, quod sint confessi, quod non sint sibi conscii alicuius peccati mortalis, quod praemisissent orationes suas et praeparatoria : omnes illi ad iudicium sibi manducant et bibunt. Sed si credant et confidant se gratiam ibi consequuturos, haec sola fides facit eos puros et dignos.

(16) Consultum videtur, quod Ecclesia in communi concilio statueret, laicos sub utraque specie communicandos : nec Bohemi communicantes sub utraque specie sunt haeretici, sed schismatici.

(17) Thesauri Ecclesiae, unde Papa dat indulgentias, non sunt merita Christi et Sanctorum.

(18) Indulgentiae sunt piae fraudes fidelium et remissiones bonorum operum ; et sunt de numero eorum quae licent, et non de numero eorum quae expediunt.

(19) Indulgentiae his, qui veraciter eas consequuntur, non valent ad remissionem poenae pro peccatis actualibus debitae apud divinam iustitiam.

(20) Seducuntur credentes indulgentias esse salutares et ad fructum spiritus utiles.

(21) Indulgentiae necessariae sunt solum publicis criminibus, et proprie conceduntur duris solummodo et impatientibus.

(22) Sex generibus hominum indulgentiae nec sunt necessariae nec utiles : videlicet mortuis seu morituris, infirmis, legitime impeditis, his qui non commiserunt crimina, his qui crimina commiserunt sed non publica, his qui meliora operantur.

(23) Excommunicationes sunt tantum externae poenae nec privant hominem communibus spiritualibus Ecclesiae orationibus.

(24) Docendi sunt Christiani plus diligere excommunicationem quam timere.

(25) Romanus Pontifex, Petri successor, non est Christi vicarius super omnes totius mundi ecclesias ab ipso Christo in beato Petro institutus.

(26) Verbum Christi ad Petrum : ' Quodcumque solveris super terram,' etc. (Matt. xvi. 19) extenditur dumtaxat ad ligata ab ipso Petro.

(27) Certum est, in manu Ecclesiae aut Papae prorsus non

esse statuere articulos fidei, imo nec leges morum seu bonorum operum.

(28) Si Papa cum magna parte ecclesiae sic vel sic sentiret, nec etiam erraret; adhuc non est peccatum aut haeresis contrarium sentire, praesertim in re non necessaria ad salutem, donec fuerit per concilium universale alterum reprobatum, alterum approbatum.

(29) Via nobis facta est enarrandi auctoritatem conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis, et iudicandi eorum decreta, et confidenter confitendi quidquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit, sive reprobatum a quocumque concilio.

(30) Aliqui articuli Ioannis Huss condemnati in concilio Constantiensi sunt Christianissimi, verissimi et evangelici, quos nec universalis Ecclesia posset damnare.

(31) In omni opere bono iustus peccat.

(32) Opus bonum optime factum est veniale peccatum.

(33) Haereticos comburi, est contra voluntatem Spiritus.

(34) Proeliari adversus Turcas, est repugnare Deo visitanti iniquitates nostras per illos.

(35) Nemo est certus, se non semper peccare mortaliter, propter occultissimum superbiae vitium.

(36) Liberum arbitrium post peccatum est res de solo titulo; et dum facit quod in se est, peccat mortaliter.

(37) Purgatorium non potest probari ex sacra Scriptura, quae sit in canone.

(38) Animae in purgatorio non sunt securae de earum salute, saltem omnes: nec probatum est ullis aut rationibus aut Scripturis, ipsas esse extra statum merendi aut augendae charitatis.

(39) Animae in purgatorio peccant sine intermissione, quamdiu quaerunt requiem et horrent poenas.

(40) Animae ex purgatorio liberatae suffragiis viventium minus beantur quam si per se satisfecissent.

(41) Praelati ecclesiastici et principes saeculares non male facerent, si omnes saccos mendicitatis dederent.

§ 3. Qui quidem errores . . . quam sint pestiferi . . . nemo sanae mentis ignorat. Nos igitur . . . reperimus eosdem errores . . . aut articulos non esse catholicos nec tanquam tales esse dogmatizandos. . . . Nam ex eisdem . . . palam sequitur. . . . Ecclesiam, quae Spiritu Sancto regitur, errare et semper errasse. . . .

§ 4. . . . Itaque . . . auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et nostra, praefatos omnes et

singulos articulos seu errores . . . damnamus, reprobamus atque omnino reiicimus. . . .

§ 5. Insuper, quia errores praefati et plures alii continentur in libellis seu scriptis Martini Luther, dictos libellos et omnia dicti Martini scripta . . . similiter damnamus, reprobamus atque omnino reiicimus . . . mandantes . . . omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus . . . ne huiusmodi scripta . . . legere, asserere, praedicare, laudare, imprimere, publicare, sive defendere . . . praesument : quinimo illa statim post harum publicationem, ubicunque fuerint, per Ordinarios . . . diligenter quaesita, publice . . . comburant. . . .

§ 10. . . . Eundem Martinum eiusque adhaerentes . . . tenore praesentium requirimus et monemus . . . quatenus infra sexaginta dies . . . ab affixione praesentium in locis infrascriptis, immediate sequentes numerandos, ipse Martinus, complices, fautores, adhaerentes et receptatores praedicti, a praefatis erroribus, eorumque praedicatione . . . omnino desistant, librosque . . . comburant . . . Ipse etiam Martinus errores et assertiones huiusmodi omnino revocet, ac de revocatione huiusmodi per publica documenta in forma iuris valida . . . ad nos infra alios similes sexaginta dies transmittenda, vel per ipsummet (si ad nos venire voluerit, quod magis placeret) cum . . . plenissimo salvo conductu quem ex nunc concedimus, deferenda, nos certiores efficiat, ut de eius vera obedientia nullus dubitationis scrupulus valeat remanere.

§ 11. Alias si (quod absit) Martinus praefatus, complices, etc., praedicti, secus egerint . . . eundem Martinum, complices, etc., . . . notorios et pertinaces haereticos . . . fuisse et esse declarantes, eosdem ut tales harum serie condemnamus . . .

XX

THE DIET OF WORMS, 27 JAN.—25 MAY 1521

Charles V, after his coronation at Aachen 23 Oct. 1520, on 1 Nov. summoned the Estates to Worms. Aleander, 1480-†1542, whose [No. 39] instructions as Papal Legate were simply to see that Luther was treated as a heretic already condemned (Balan, *Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae*, i. 8 sqq.), was favourably impressed by [No. 40] his first interview with the Emperor, 23-29 Sept., at Antwerp (*Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, i. i. 151 sq., Rome, 1897), and arrived in Worms 30 Nov. He was at once met by the objection based on Art. XIX

of the capitulations which Charles had signed at his election (Goldasti *Constitutiones Imperiales*, ii. 141), that no proceedings could be taken 'sine magno scandalo contra hominem Germanum indicta causa' (Brieger, *Aleander und Luther*, 19), and rightly concluded that 'et spes et ratio vincendi in Caesare tantum est' (*ibid.* 27). On 3 Jan. 1521 the Pope issued a new and sharper Bull of Excommunication (*Magnum Bull. Rom.* i. 614 sqq.), and, 18 Jan., addressed a Brief to the Emperor requiring him to carry it into effect (Balan, i. 34 sqq.). But by taking the advice of his ambassador at Rome to the effect that 'he ought to show some favour to a certain Friar Martin' of whom 'the Pope is exceedingly afraid' (12 May 1520: *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, ii. 305), Charles could at once secure himself against Leo's possible defection to Francis I, 1515-1547, and also satisfy [No. 41] the strongly anti-papal sentiment of Germany (Brieger, 48). The matter was accordingly referred to the Diet: and after Aleander had, 13 Feb., presented the Papal case (Brieger, 61: Balan, 59), it was resolved that Luther should be heard. He reached Worms 16 April, and 'after dinner all the world came to see him' (Brieger, 143). Next day he was brought before Emperor and Diet, and granted a day's delay to prepare [No. 42] his final answer, 18 April, to the question, Would he recant? ('Acta' in *Lutheri Op. Lat.* vi. 8 sqq.). On the 19th Charles announced [No. 43] his future policy in regard to Luther (Armstrong, *Charles V*, i. 70 sq.), in terms which, in spite of the *Gravamina* demanding a disciplinary reform which the Diet laid before him early in May (Walch, *Luther's Schriften*, xv. 2038 sqq.), naturally issued in his [No. 44] alliance with the Pope, 8 May (Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, IV. iii. 96 sqq.), on the basis of joint suppression of heresy, and in [No. 45] the Edict of Worms, 26 May (Goldasti *Const. Imp.* ii. 143 sqq.). Luther, who had left Worms 26 April, was spirited off out of harm's way by 'the Saxon fox' (Brieger, 245), but according to dispatches of the Venetian Ambassador (*Cal. St. Papers, Venetian*, iii. 115 sqq.) and a letter of the Archbishop of Mainz to Leo X (Balan, 268) [No. 46] German feeling remained wholly on his side.

No. 39. Aleander's Instructions.

... Vos igitur, Domine Hieronyme, ibitis ad Curiam Caesaris recto tramite, et ibi praesentabitis bullam plumbatam eius M^{ti}, suadebitisque ut tam perniciosae pesti obviare velit praesertim in initio suae advocacionis et susceptae defensionis pro S. R. Ecclesia, quo nihil gloriosius posset facere; ostendendo M^{ti} suae qualiter S. D. N. et Sedes Apostolica non ad fovendas contentiones et rixas sed ad sedandas et extinguendas haereses mature processit, et, communicatis omnibus erroribus seu articulis in bulla contentis, cum S. R. E. Cardinalibus ac

multis aliis doctissimis viris Ro. Curiae, illos damnavit, et propterea, cum fecerit quod sui officii est, petit brachium potentiae M^{ti}s suae, cuius officium est haereticos ante omnia extirpare atque ideo iuxta apostolicum gladium portat, ut malis hominibus purget Ecclesiam Dei; et nitamini impetrare litteras ab eius M^{to} ad omnes Germaniae Principes, tam saeculares quam ecclesiasticos, hortatorias ut velint adiuvere ad executionem bullae et omnium in ea contentorum et prout videbitur melius expedire, quarum forma prudentiae vestrae relinquitur. . . .

Quinto, si Martinus . . . vellet se iustificare et petere se audiri in Curia Caesareae M^{ti}s, respondebitis iam sibi fuisse per S. D. N. oblatum saluum conductum ut veniret ad Romanam Curiam et Sedem Apostolicam ubi causae haeresum de iure tractari et definiri debent, praesertimque postquam S. D. N. apposuit manum et condemnavit huiusmodi errores; quae gesta per suam Sanctitatem si alibi examinarentur, esset contra omnem iustitiam et divinam et humanam; et, si Martinus vellet hodie ad Romanam Curiam venire et ibi audiri, paratus est S. D. N. iuxta formam bullae dare sibi plenissimum saluum conductum, et libentissime eum audire.

Sexto, scribatur S^{mo} D. N. cito et sigillatim quaecumque facietis ut pro tempore possit remedium afferre. . . .

Ultimo, hortabimini tam Caesaream Maiestatem quam omnes Principes ut, post publicationem bullae et lapsum termini in ea contenti, Martinus capiatur, et ut vinctus, ducatur ad Curiam Romanam ut condigna poena puniatur. . . .

No. 40. Aleander's first impressions of Charles V.

Hodie, tertio quam Antwerpiam pervenerim, auctore Leodiensi praesule,¹ sum ad Caesarem introductus. Aderant e nostris Rev. Protonotarius Caracciolus² et D. Raphael Medices³; e Caesarianis tum alii plerique quos non novi, tum Marchio de Chevres⁴, magnus Cancellarius⁵, episcopus Tudensis⁶. Visum est consultius Leodiensi praesuli et nostris orationum, et brevem et sermone Gallico, haberem. Audivit

¹ Eberhard von der Mark, Bishop of Liège, 1506-†1538.

² Marino Caracciolo, 1469-†1538, Papal Legate.

³ A kinsman of Leo X.

⁴ Marquis Guillaume de Croy, Seigneur de Chièvres, 1458-†1521.

⁵ Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara, 1465-†1530.

⁶ Lodovico Marlano, Bishop of Tuy in Spain, 1517-†21.

Caesar benignissime, lectisque a magno Cancellario Sanctitatis Vestrae litteris, respondit profecto, non per interpretem aut per praesentem paedagogum sed per se ipsum et sapienter et sancte, se pro tuenda re ecclesiastica et Sanctitatis Vestrae Sedisque Apostolicae dignitate etiam vitam, expositurum. Neque haec solum verba sed et pleraque alia tam huic causae accommodate ut, quum ea quae audiebam cum iis conferrem quae de tanto Principe in Italia et perperam et iniquissime circumferebantur, non possem non istas falsissimas et iniustissimas linguas mecum tacite devovere. Dicant enim quicquid velint, visus est mihi hic Princeps et egregie cordatus et longe super annos prudens, plus tamen habere longe in recessu quam in fronte prae se ferat; nam, quantum ad religionem et pietatem attinet, apud omnes qui cum eo versantur in confesso est eum nemini vel privato vel Principi hac in parte cedere. . . .

No. 41. Aleander on the anti-papal sentiment of Germany, 8 Feb.

At present, all Germany is in commotion: nine out of every ten cry 'Luther', and the tenth, if he do not care for what Luther says, at least cries, 'Death to the Court of Rome!' and every one demands and shrieks 'Council! Council!' and will have it in Germany; and those who ought to do most for us, yea for themselves, some out of timidity, some for despute, others, each for his own interest.

No. 42. Luther's answer before Emperor and Diet, 18 April.

Sequenti feria quinta, post quartam pomeridianam, venit Fetialis¹ et assumptum D. Martinum in Curiam Caesaris perduxit, ubi propter Principum occupationes ad sextam usque mansit, expectans in magna hominum frequentia, se ipsam conterente prae turba. Cumque consessus factus esset² et D. Martinus astaret, prorupit Officialis³ in haec verba:—

Hesterno vesperi Caesarea Maiestas hanc horam tibi dixit, Martine Luther, quandoquidem libros, quos heri recensuimus, tuos esse palam recepisti. Caeterum ad quaestionem, an quid-

¹ The herald Caspar Sturm, officially known as 'Deutschland'.

² In the Episcopal Palace.

³ John von Eck, Official of the Archbishop of Trier.

quam eorum irritum haberi velles, an omnia probares quae profiteris, deliberationem petisti quae nunc finem habet, etiamsi iure impetrare non debueras longius cogitandi spatium, qui tanto tempore scivisti ad quid vocareris. Et fidei negotium tam certum omnibus esse conveniebat, ut quisque, quocumque tempore postulatus, rationem eius certam et constantem reddere possit, nedum tu tantus et tam exercitatus Theologiae Professor. Age, tandem responde Caesareae postulationi, cuius benignitatem in impetrando cogitandi spatio sensisti: Visne libros tuos agnitos omnes tueri? an vero quidquam retractare? Haec latine et germanice dixit Officialis.

Respondit D. Martinus et ipse latine et germanice, quam suppliciter non clamose, ac modeste, non tamen sine Christiana animositate et constantia, et ita ut cupierint adversarii orationem et animum abiectiorem. Sed multo cupidissime expectarunt revocationem, cuius spem expetito delibandi spatio nonnullam conceperant. Sic autem respondit:—

Serenissime Domine Imperator, Illustrissimi Principes, Clementissimi Domini, ad praefixum mihi hesterno vesperi terminum obediens compareo, per misericordiam Dei obsecrans, S. M. V. Dominationesque vestrae illustrissimae dignentur causam hanc (ut spero) iustitiae et veritatis clementer audire: atque, si per imperitiam meam vel dignos titulos cuiquam non dederò vel quocumque modo in mores gestusque aulicos peccaverò, benigniter ignoscere ut homini non in aulis sed in angulis monachorum versato, qui nihil aliud de me testari possum quam ea simplicitate animi hactenus me docuisse et scripsisse, ut tantum gloriam Dei et sinceram fidelium Christi institutionem spectarem.

Serenissime Imperator, Illustrissimique Principes, ad duos illos articulos heri per S. M. V. mihi propositos, scilicet, an libellos recensitos et nomine meo evulgatos agnoscerem meos, et in his defendendis perseverare aut revocare velim? dedi paratum et planum meum responsum super articulo priore, in quo adhuc persisto persistamque in aeternum, esse videlicet eos libros meos meoque nomine a me evulgatos, nisi forte interim acciderit ut, aemulorum vel astutia vel sapientia importuna, quidquam in illis mutatum aut depravate excerptum sit. Nam aliud planè non agnosco nisi quod mei solius est et a me solo scriptum, citra omnis cuiusvis industriae interpretationem.

Ad alterum vero responsurus rogo, S. M. V. et Dom. Vestr. dignentur animum advertere libros meos non esse omnes eiusdem generis.

Sunt enim aliqui in quibus pietatem fidei et morum adeo simpliciter et evangelice tractavi ut ipsimet adversarii cogantur eos confiteri utiles, innoxios et plane dignos lectione Christiana. Sed et Bulla, quanquam saeva et crudelis, aliquot meos libros innoxios facit, licet et hos damnet, iudicio prorsus monstrifico. Si itaque hos revocare inciperem, obsecro quid facerem nisi quod unus ex omnibus mortalibus eam veritatem damnarem quam amici et inimici pariter confitentur, solus omnium confessioni concordi reluctatus?

Alterum genus est quod in Papatum et doctrinam Papistarum invehitur, tanquam in eos qui suis et doctrinis et exemplis pessimis orbem Christianum utroque malo et spiritus et corporis vastaverint. Nam neque negare id neque dissimulare quisquam potest, cum experientia omnium et universorum querimonia testes sint, per leges Papae et doctrinas hominum, conscientias fidelium miserrime esse illaqueatas, vexatas et excarnificatas, tum res et substantias, praesertim in hac inclyta Germaniae natione incredibili tyrannide devoratas, devorarique adhuc sine fine indignisque modis: cum tamen suismet legibus ipsi caveant (ut Dist. ix et xxv q. 1 et 2)¹ ut Papae leges et doctrinae Evangelio aut Patrum sententiis contrariae pro erroneis et reprobis habeantur. Si igitur et hos revocavero, nihil aliud praestitero quam ut tyrannidi robur adiecero et tantae impietati non fenestras sed valvas aperuero grassaturae latius et liberius quam hactenus unquam ausa fuerit; et fiet huius meae revocationis testimonio licentiosissimum impunitissimumque nequitiae illorum regnum misero vulgo longe intolerabilissimum et tamen roboratum et stabilitum, praesertim si iactatum fuerit id a me factum auctoritate S. M. V. totiusque Romani Imperii. Quantum ego, Deus bone, tum fuero operculum nequitiae et tyrannidis.

Tertium genus eorum est quos in aliquos privatos et singulares (ut vocant) personas scripsi, eos scilicet qui et tyrannidem Romanam tueri et pietatem a me doctam labefactare moliti sunt. In hos confiteor me fuisse acerbiorum quam pro religione aut professione deceat. Neque enim me sanctum aliquem facio, neque de vita mea sed de doctrina Christi disputo. Neque hos revocare integrum est mihi quod ea revocatione iterum futurum sit ut tyrannis et impietas meo patrocinio regnent et saeviant in populum Dei violentius quam unquam regnaverint.

¹ *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, I. 17, 1008, 1017 (ed. Friedberg).

Tamen, quia homo sum et non Deus, alio patrocinio meis libellis adesse non possum quam ipse Dominus meus Iesus Christus affuit suae doctrinae qui, cum coram Hanna de sua doctrina fuisset interrogatus et alapam a ministro accepisset, dixit: Si male locutus sum, testimonium perhibe de malo. Si Dominus ipse, qui sciebat sese errare non posse, non tamen detrectavit testimonium adversus suam doctrinam audire, etiam a vilissimo servo, quanto magis ego faex, non nisi errare potens, debeo expetere et expectare si quis testimonium reddere velit adversus meam doctrinam.

Itaque rogo per misericordiam Dei S. M. V. Illustrissimaeque Dom. Vestr., aut quicumque tandem, vel summus vel infimus possit, reddat testimonium, convincat errores, superet scripturis propheticeis et evangelicis; paratissimus enim ero, si edoctus fuero, quemcunque errorem revocare, eroque primus qui libellos meos in ignem proiciam. . . .

His dictis Orator Imperii, increpabundo similis, dixit cum non ad rem respondisse nec debere in quaestionem vocari quae olim in Conciliis essent damnata et definita: ideo ab eo peti simplex et non cornutum responsum, An velit revocare vel non?

Hic Lutherus:—Quando ergo S. M. V. Dominationesque vestrae simplex responsum petunt, dabo illud neque cornutum neque dentatum in hunc modum: Nisi convictus fuero testimoniis Scripturarum aut ratione evidente (nam neque Papae neque Conciliis solis credo, cum constet eos errasse saepius et sibi ipsis contradixisse), victus sum Scripturis a me adductis captaque est conscientia in verbis Dei: revocare neque possum neque volo quidquam, cum contra conscientiam agere neque tutum sit, neque integrum. Hie stehe ich. Ich kan nicht anders. Gott helff mir. Amen. . . .

No. 43. The Emperor's declaration of policy, 19 April.

My predecessors, the most Christian Emperors of German race, the Austrian archdukes, and dukes of Burgundy, were untill death the truest sons of the Catholic Church, defending and extending their belief to the glory of God, the propagation of the faith, the salvation of their souls. They have left behind them the holy Catholic rites that I should live and die therein, and so untill now with God's aid I have lived, as becomes a Christian Emperor. What my forefathers estab-

lished at Constance and other Councils, it is my privilege to uphold. A single monk, led astray by private judgement, has set himself against the faith held by all Christians for a thousand years and more, and impudently concludes that all Christians up till now have erred. I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, my life and soul. For myself and you, sprung from the holy German nation, appointed by peculiar privilege defenders of the faith, it would be a grievous disgrace, an eternal stain upon ourselves and our posterity, if, in this our day, not only heresy, but its very suspicion, were due to our neglect. After Luther's stiff-necked reply in my presence yesterday, I now repent that I have so long delayed proceedings against him and his false doctrines. I have now resolved never again, under any circumstances, to hear him. Under protection of his safe-conduct he shall be escorted home, but forbidden to preach and to seduce men with his evil doctrines and incite them to rebellion. I warn you to give witness to your opinion as good Christians and in accordance with your vows.

No. 44. The Alliance between the Pope and the Emperor, 8 May.

I. Et primo, praedicti duo Principes, Serenissimus Papa Leo X et Serenissimus Caesar Carolus Hispaniarum ac utriusque Siciliae citra et ultra Pharus Rex, faciunt ligam atque amicitiam iunguntque se foedere perpetuo et indissolubili ita ut eosdem habeant amicos, eosdem hostes sine exceptione; ut una atque eadem amborum sit fortuna, idem velle et nolle ad offensionem quorumcunque et defensionem a quibuscunque opus fuerit . . . ut qui alterutrum laeserit aut laedere attenderit, alterius continuo sit hostis. . . .

XVI. Item, quoniam S. D. N. cura est aliquanto etiam maior rerum spiritualium et pastoralis officii quam temporalium, dignitatem Sanctae Apostolicae Sedis supra omnia carissimam habet, multi autem exorti sunt qui et de Fide Catholica male sentire et dictam Sedem sua malignitate et maledicentia lacerare non dubitant, promittit Serenissimus Caesar se contra eos qui Sedem Apostolicam verbo et facto laedere praesumunt aut Fidem Catholicam perturbare conantur, ut iustissimum et Christianissimum Imperatorem decet, omnem vim suae pote

statis districturum, eosque persecuturum, omnesque iniurias eidem Sedi illatas, tanquam sibi factas, vindicaturum. . . .

No. 45. The Edict of Worms, 26 May.

Carolus V, Dei benignitate electus Romanus Imperator, semper Augustus; Germaniae, Hispaniae, utriusque Siciliae, Hierosolymae, Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, &c., Rex; Archidux Austriae; Dux Burgundiae, &c.; Comes Habsburgi, Flandriae, Tirolis, &c.: universis et singulis Electoribus, Principibus &c. . . . salutem ac prosperitatem cum denunciatione clementiae nostrae. . . .

4. Cum . . . sine dubio nemini vestrum sit obscurum quam procul errores haeresesque a Christiana via . . . declinent quas Augustinianae familiae quidam Martinus Lutherus . . . disseminare conatur . . . [here follows, §§ 5-25, a recital of the proceedings in Luther's case.]

25. . . . inde nimirum opportunis remediis contra hanc exulceratissimam pestem procedi debet, ut sequitur.

26. Principio, ad laudem gloriamque omnipotentis Dei et propugnationem Christianae fidei Pontificis quoque Romani et Sedis honorem debitum, auctoritate ac potestate nostrae Caesareae dignitatis atque officii, praeterea unanimi consensu et voluntate nostrorum sacrique Imperii Electorum, Principum et Ordinum hic iam congregatorum, Nos ad perpetuam rei memoriam praestandamque decreti, sententiae ac condemnationis Bullae, quam S. N. Pater Papa, velut ordinarius iudex controversiarum religionis edidit, executionem, supramemoratum Martinum Lutherum tanquam membrum ab Ecclesia Dei separatum, perniciosi schismatis auctorem, manifestum pertinacemque haereticum a nobis vobisque universis et singulis existimandum detestandumque renunciamus et declaramus, idque publice testatum his literis volumus, edicentes et imperantes vobis omnibus et unicuique sub sponsione atque iuramento quo nobis sacroque Imperio devincti estis, ad effugiendam item criminis laesae maiestatis poenam nostramque et Imperii proscriptionem ac excommunicationem. . . .

27. Imperantes, inquam, Romana Caesareaque potestate severe hoc edicto volumus, ut, elapsis praefatis viginti diebus qui 14 hujus mensis Maii terminabuntur, praedictum Martinum Lutherum nemo vestrum hospitio, tecto lectove recipiat ac foveat, nemo cibo potuque alat et sustentet, nec quisquam verbis ac factis, clam palamve, consilio vel auxilio iuvet aut

promoveat; sed ubicumque locorum in eum incideritis, si tantum habebitis virium, vinctum comprehendatis diligentique saeptum custodia nobis vel adducatis ipsi vel adduci curetis, aut saltem evestigio nobis ubi captus fuerit indicetis, intereaque carcere clausum providenter asservetis donec quod porro illi inferendum sit instructionem nostram acceperitis, vosque propter huiusmodi sanctum et pium opus, ad compensationem laborum quoque et sumptuum benigne remuneremini.

28. Verum contra illius necessarios, coniunctos, thiasotas, patronos, altores, fautores, consentientes, aemulos atque imitatores, horumque mobilia vel immobilia bona, debetis, in vigore sanctae constitutionis nostrae et Imperii proscriptionis et excommunicationis, hoc ordine procedere: videlicet, iter facientes prosternere, prehendere, fortunas diripere, ad vestrum dominium transferre, nemine obstante vel impediante: excepto, si verisimiliter probabiliterque confirmet, se hac scopulosa via Pontificiam absolutionem impetrasse.

29. Praeterea mandamus vobis omnibus et unicuique privatum . . . ne quisquam . . . M. Lutheri libros a S. P. N. Papa . . . condemnatos eiusdemque alia multa scripta, quae seu vernacula seu Latina lingua componit hactenus, tanquam impia, foeda, suspecta, diluta et a notorio pertinacique haeretico edita, amplius, emere, venundare, servare, describere, imprimere, describi vel imprimi facere, nec ipsius opinioni suffragari, adhaerere aut praedicare, defendere, asserere ullis modis . . . praesumat. . .

31. Insuper decernimus ut universi et singuli, cuiuscunque dignitatis, gradus, ordinis, conditionis fuerint, ac praesertim gerentes Magistratus et superiore vel inferiore iurisdictione armati, . . . in omnibus S. R. I. subiectis ditionibus, in nostris item haereditariis Ducatibus atque territorio, de facto severe ordinent, poenas irrogent, imperent atque procurent quascunque tales antedictas Lutheri virulentas commentationes, libellos et lucubrationes, ingentium tumultuum, damnorum, dissipationum, haeresium in Ecclesia Dei administras, igni comburendas et his aliisque mediis funditus abolendas, extirpandas ad nihilumque redigendas. Similiter Beatitudinis Pontificiae nunciis ipsorumque delectis commissariis, in his ad illorum . . . requisitionem summa voluntate . . . adesse . . . ac . . . ad haec universa et singula . . . exsequenda . . . operas conferre debetis. . .

37. Postremo, quo cum praesentia mala tum occasiones futurarum haeresium praecidantur. . . Nos Caesarea Regiaque

potestate, consulto unanimique consensu¹ nostrorum et Imperii Electorum atque Ordinum, sub nostra Imperii proscriptione . . . decernimus vigore huius Edicti . . . ne quis in posterum typographus aut alius . . . ullum opus scriptumve, in quo fidei Christianae mentio . . . fiat, aut primus imprimat aut ab aliis editum recudat, nisi conscio et annuente loci illius Ordinario . . . cum permissione Facultatis Theologiae in Academia aliqua finiendi . . .

No. 46. German feeling in favour of Luther.

(1) DISPATCHES OF GASPAR CONTARINI, THE VENETIAN
AMBASSADOR.

April 25.—I cannot tell you how much favour he [Luther] enjoys here [Worms], and which is of such a nature that, on the Emperor's departure and the dissolution of the Diet, I suspect it will produce some bad effect, most especially against the prelates of Germany. In truth, had this man been prudent, had he restricted himself to his first propositions, and not entangled himself in manifest errors about the faith, he would have been, I do not say favoured, but adored by the whole of Germany. I was told so at Augsburg by the Duke of Bavaria and many others, and I see the same by experience.

April 26.—Luther is a man who will not relinquish his opinion, either through argument, fear, or entreaty. . . . He has many powerful partisans who encourage him, and against whom no one dares to [proceed]. . . . His books are sold publicly in Worms, although the Pope and the Emperor, who is on the spot, have prohibited them.

(2) LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF MAINZ TO
LEO X, JULY.

Beatissime Pater. . . . In dies post omnium bonorum virorum conatum, post bullam Beatitudinis vestrae et Caesareum edictum in Martinum et complices, augentur copiae Lutheranorum, iamque rarissimi inveniuntur laici qui candide et simpliciter faveant ecclesiasticis; sed et bona pars sacerdotum facit cum Luthero et plerosque pudet stare a parte Romanae Ecclesiae, adeo invisum est nomen curtisanorum et decretorum Bealitudinis vestrae, quae magno supercilio post Wittenbergenses et alii quoque reiiciunt. . . .

¹ This is misleading. See Ranke, *History of the Reformation*, 244.

XXI

MELANCHTHON

Philip Schwarzerd, 16 Feb. 1497—†19 Ap. 1560, was born at Bretten in the Palatinate, and was educated first at Heidelberg, 1509-12, then at Tübingen, 1512-14, where, as M.A., 25 Jan. 1514, he began to teach. On the recommendation of his great-uncle, the famous John Reuchlin, 1455-†1522, he was made Professor of Hebrew and Greek at Wittenberg, 26 Aug. 1518. He came thither as a humanist and was always to some extent a theologian against his will (Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, 90). Though never in Holy Orders, he took his B.D. 19 Sept. 1519, and began to lend support to Luther by lecturing in theology. A lifelong relation was thus set up between them:—‘I am rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike’ wrote Luther, in a preface to Melanchthon’s Commentary on Colossians, ‘I am born to fight against innumerable monsters and devils. I must remove stumps and stones, cut away thistles and thorns, and clear the wild forests: but Master Philip comes along softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy, according to the gifts which God has abundantly bestowed upon him.’ In Dec. 1521 Luther’s main ideas found classical expression in Melanchthon’s [No. 47] **Loci Communes** (*Corpus Reformatorum*, xxi. 82 sqq.; edd. Bretschneider and Bindseil, Brunsvigae, 1834-60), which had its origin in lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. ‘In its earliest form it was a collection of Heads or *Loci*—topics for . . . oral amplification from the Professor at his desk’ (Beard, *op. cit.* 286): but it became, as enlarged in successive editions, 1521-59, the systematic exposition of Lutheran theology’ (*ibid.* 90; cf. 287). Some of its earliest positions underwent important modifications, for which see J. W. Richard, *Philip Melanchthon*, 231 sqq. (Putnam, 1898).

No. 47. The Loci Communes, Dec. 1521.

Loci Communes seu Hypotyposes Theologicae.

Requiri solent in singulis artibus loci quidam, quibus artis cuiusque summa comprehenditur, qui scopi vice, ad quem omnia studia dirigamus, habentur. Quod in theologia veteres quoque secutos videmus, parce quidem ac sobrie. Ex recentioribus vero Damascenum¹ ac Longobardum,² inepte utrumque. Nimum enim philosophatur Damascenus, Longobardus congerere hominum opiniones quam Scripturae sententiam referre maluit. Et quanquam nolim immorari studiosos . . . hoc genus summis, tamen prope necessarium duco indicare

¹ John of Damascus, ? 700-†750?, *Ἐκδοσις ἀκριβὴς πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου*.

² Peter Lombard, ? -†1160, *Sententiarum Libri IV*.

saltem e quibus locis rerum summa pendeat, ut quorsum dirigenda sunt studia intelligatur.

Sunt autem rerum theologicarum haec fere capita:—Deus. Unus. Trinus. Creatio. Homo, hominis vires. Peccatum. Fructus peccati, Vitia. Poenae. Lex. Promissiones. Instauratio per Christum. Gratia. Gratiae fructus. Fides. Spes. Caritas. Praedestinatio. Signa sacramentalia. Hominum status. Magistratus. Episcopi. Condemnatio. Beatitudo.

In his ut quidam prorsus incomprehensibiles sunt, ita rursus sunt quidam, quos universo vulgo Christianorum compertissimos esse Christus voluit. Mysteria divinitatis rectius adoraverimus quam investigaverimus. Immo sine magno periculo tentari non possunt, id quod non raro sancti viri etiam sunt experti. Et carne Filium Deus Optimus Maximus induit ut nos a contemplatione maiestatis suae ad carnis adeoque fragilitatis nostrae contemplationem invitaret. . . . Proinde non est cur multum operae ponamus in locis illis supremis de Deo, de Unitate, de Trinitate Dei, de mysterio Creationis, de modo Incarnationis. Quaeso te quid adsecuti sunt iam tot saeculis scholastici theologistae cum in his locis solis versarentur? Nonne in disceptationibus suis . . . vani facti sunt, dum tota vita nugantur de universalibus, formalitatibus, connotatis et nescio quibus aliis inanibus vocabulis, et dissimulari eorum stultitia posset, nisi Evangelium interim et beneficia Christi obscurassent nobis illae stultae disputationes. Iam si libeat ingenioso mihi esse in re non necessaria, facile queam evertere quaecunque pro fidei dogmatis argumenta produxerunt, et in his quam multa rectius pro haeresibus quibusdam facere videntur, quam pro catholicis dogmatis. Reliquos vero locos, peccati vim, legem, gratiam qui ignorarit, non video quomodo Christianum vocem; nam ex his proprie Christus cognoscitur, siquidem hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia eius cognoscere, non, quod isti docent, eius Naturas, modos Incarnationis contueri. Ni scias in quem usum carnem induerit, et cruci adfixus sit Christus, quid proderit eius historiam novisse? An vero medico satis est novisse herbarum figuras, colores, liniamenta, vim scire nativam nihil refert? Ita Christum, qui nobis remedii et, ut Scripturae verbo utar, salutaris vice donatus est, oportet alio quodam modo cognoscamus quam exhibent scholastici. Haec demum Christiana cognitio est, scire quid lex poscat; unde faciendae legis vim; unde peccati gratiam petas: quomodo labascentem animum

adversus daemonem, carnem, et mundum erigas; quomodo afflictam conscientiam consoleris. Scilicet ista docent scholastici? Paulus in Epistola quam Romanis dicavit, cum doctrinae Christianae compendium conscriberet, num de mysteriis Trinitatis, de modo Incarnationis, de creatione activa et creatione passiva philosophabatur? At quid agit? Certe de lege, peccato, gratia et quibus locis Christi cognitio pendet. . . . Itaque nos aliquam delineabimus eorum locorum rationem qui Christum tibi commendunt, qui conscientiam confirmit, qui animum adversus Satanam erigant. . . .

De Gratia. Sicut lex peccati cognitio est, ita Evangelium promissio gratiae et iustitiae. . . . Sit gratia, favor, misericordia, gratuita benevolentia Dei erga nos. . . . In summa, non aliud est gratia nisi condonatio seu remissio peccati. . . .

De Iustificatione et Fide. Iustificamur igitur cum mortificati per legem, resuscitamus verbo gratiae quae in Christo promissa est, seu Evangelio condonante peccata. Et illi fide adhaeremus, nihil dubitantes quin Christi iustitia sit nostra iustitia, quin Christi satisfactio sit expiatio nostri, quin Christi resurrectio nostra sit. Breviter nihil dubitantes quin peccata nobis condonata sint, et iam faveat ac bene velit Deus. Nihil igitur operum nostrorum, quantumvis bona aut videantur aut sint, iustitia sunt. Sed sola fides de misericordia et gratia Dei in Iesu Christo iustitia est. . . . Quid igitur fides? Constanter adsentiri omni verbo Dei. . . .

De signis. Evangelium promissionem esse gratiae diximus. Porro promissionibus proximus signorum locus est. Adduntur enim in Scripturis ceu sigilli vice signa promissionibus quae cum admoventur promissionum tum certa testimonia divinae voluntatis sint erga nos, testanturque certo accepturos quod pollicitus est Deus. In usu signorum foedissime erratur. Nam scholae cum disputant quid intersit inter sacramenta veteris ac novi testamenti, in sacramentis veteris testamenti negant vim fuisse iustificandi; novi sacramentis tribuunt vim iustificandi, manifesto nimirum errore. Sola enim fides iustificat. Proinde quae signorum natura sit, facillime ex Pauli Romanis potest intelligi, ubi de circumcissione in capite quarto disserit. . . . Ex quibus qui sit signorum usus credo disci posse. Non iustificant signa, ut Apostolus ait, Circumcisio nihil est, ita Baptismus nihil est. Participatio mensae Domini nihil est, sed testes sunt καὶ σφραγίδες divinae voluntatis erga te: quibus conscientia tua certa reddatur, si de gratia, de benevolentia Dei erga se dubitet. . . . Fidei excitandae gratia signa sunt

proposita. . . Duo sunt autem signa a Christo in Evangelio instituta, Baptismus et participatio mensae Domini. Nos enim signa sacramentalia ea esse iudicamus, quae gratiae Dei signa divinitus tradita sunt. . .

De privatis confessionibus. . . Absolutio privata sic necessaria est ut Baptismus. Tametsi enim audias Evangelium communiter universae Ecclesiae praedicari, tamen tum demum certus es id ad te proprie pertinere, quum tu privatim ac proprie absolveris. Non sinit gratiam qui non efflictim cupit audire sententiam de se divinam. Est enim Dei non hominum sententia qua absolveris, modo absolutioni credas. . . Neque vero absolvuntur nisi qui et absolvi se optant et credunt. . .

De participatione Mensae Domini. Signum gratiae certum est participatio mensae Domini, hoc est, manducare corpus Christi et bibere sanguinem. Sic enim ait (Luc. xxii. 20), Hic est calix novi testamenti, &c. Item (1 Cor. xi. 25), Quoties feceritis, facite in memoriam mei. Id est, cum facitis, admoneamini Evangelii, seu remissionis peccatorum. Non est igitur sacrificium, si quidem in hoc est traditum, ut certo admoneat tantum promissi Evangelii. Nec delet peccatum participatio mensae, sed fides delet, ea vero hoc signo confirmatur. . . Sunt igitur impiae missae omnes praeter eas quibus conscientiae ad confirmandam fidem eriguntur. Sacrificium est cum nos aliquid Deo offerimus; at Christum non offerimus Deo, sed ipse se semel obtulit. Quare qui missas in hoc faciunt, ut ceu bonum aliquod opus faciant, ut Deo Christum offerant pro vivis ac mortuis, ut putent quo saepius ingeminetur, eo melius fieri, impie errant. Et hos errores magna ex parte opinor Thomae imputandos esse, qui docuit missam prodesse aliis praeter eum qui manducat.

Est autem significatio huius sacramenti confirmare nos toties quoties labascunt conscientiae, quoties de Dei voluntate erga nos dubitamus. . . Quid autem in mentem venit iis qui inter signa gratiae Ordinem numerarunt? Cum non aliud sit ordo quam deligi ex ecclesia eos qui doceant, baptizent, mensae benedicant, et eleemosynas partiantur egenis. Episcopi seu presbyteri dicebantur qui docebant, lavabant, et benedicebant mensae. Diaconi qui eleemosynas partiebantur inter inopes. Neque sic discretiae horum functiones erant, ut Diacono piaculare esset docere, baptizare, aut benedicere mensae. Immo haec omnibus Christianis licent. Nam omnium sunt claves Matt. xviii. 18. Sed demandabatur eorum procuratio qui-

busdam, ut essent qui sibi rem ecclesiasticam necessario scirent administrandam esse, et ad quos rite referri posset, si quid incidisset.

Et, ut hoc obiter moneam, vocabulo episcopi aut presbyteri aut diaconi non convenire cum vocabulo sacerdotis. Sacerdos enim a sacrificio in Scripturis et interpellando dicitur. Sumusque sacerdotes omnes Christiani, quia sacrificium, hoc est, corpus nostrum offerimus. Nam praeterea nullum est sacrificium in Christianismo, et ius habemus interpellandi Dei immo et placandi. Huc pertinet sententia Petri, gens sancta, regnum sacerdotale.¹ Reges enim sumus Christiani quia liberi per Christum omnium creaturarum, vitae, mortis, peccati dominamur. . . . Sacerdotes quia nos ipsos Deo offerimus, et interpellamus pro peccatis nostris. Haec latius docet Epistola ad Hebr. Episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi non sunt nisi qui docent, baptizant, benedicunt mensae, eleemosynas dispensant. Misarii sacerdotes prophetae Iezabelis, hoc est, Romae sunt. . . .

XXII

RADICALISM AT WITTENBERG, 1521-2

From 4 May 1521 to 3 March 1522 Luther lay hid in the Wartburg. On 1 April 1521 (de Wette i. 582) he had replied to the last of his Dominican antagonists, Ambrosius Catharinus, 1487-†1553, asserting 'ubi baptisma et panem et evangelium esse videris . . . ibi ecclesiam esse non dubites' (*Op. Lat.* v. 311). He now wrote (de Wette, ii. 13), 1 June, on Private Confession, reforming, but not abolishing, the ordinance; and, 20 June, in reply to Latomus (*Op. Lat.* v. 397 sqq.). In December he [No. 48] finally humbled the Archbishop of Mainz (de Wette, ii. 112). But meanwhile developments took place at Wittenberg which, but for his intervention, would have discredited his teaching. See Ranke, *Reformation*, 248 sqq. Of the secular clergy some married, and found a champion in Carlstadt, 29 June, *De coelibatu*: while, among the friars, Gabriel Zwilling, 1487-†1558, the Augustinian preacher, attacked, 6 and 13 Oct., both monastic vows and private masses (Reports of 11 Oct. and 12 Nov. ap. *Corpus Reformatorum*, i. 460, 483), not without support from Luther's treatises *De abroganda missa privata*, 1 Nov. (*Op. Lat.* vi. 113 sqq.) and *De votis monasticis*, 21 Nov. (*ibid.* 238 sqq.). Fortified by [No. 49] opinions from a committee of the University, 20 Oct. (*Op. Lat.* vi. 217 sqq.: *C. R.* i. 465 sqq.), and from

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 9.

a synod of the Augustinians of Meissen and Thuringia, Dec. (*Op. Lat.* vi. 213 sq.; *C. R.* i. 456 sq.), Carlstadt, in spite of the Elector's monition against hasty innovation, 19 Dec. (*C. R.* i. 508), gave notice of (*ibid.* 512) and, on Christmas Day, carried into effect [No. 50] **alterations in the Mass** (*Zeitung aus Wittenberg*, ap. Strobel, *Miscellaneous*, v. 121), such as he considered would reduce it to the Scriptural model. Two days later [No. 51] **the arrival of 'prophets' from Zwickau** (*C. R.* i. 513), who both claimed to be above Scripture in virtue of an immediate inspiration and rejected infant baptism (*ibid.* 536 sq.), drew down upon Melancthon [No. 52] **a reproof from Luther**, 13 Jan. 1522 (de Wette, ii. 124 sq.), and added to [No. 53] **the confusion** (Letter of Beyer, 25 Jan. *C. R.* i. 540 : and Fröschel's Preface to his *Tractat vom Priesterthum*, 1565, tr. Gieseler, v. 380), till, 6 March, Luther himself arrived in Wittenberg (de Wette, ii. 141), and in a series of eight [No. 54] **sermons**, 9-16 March, saved the credit of the Reformation (*ibid.* ii. 177) by evoking order out of chaos (*Luther's Schriften*, ed. Walch, xx. 1 sqq. and 62 sqq.). In the following Sept. he provided his countrymen with the touchstone of authority by the publication of his [No. 55] **translation of the New Testament** : though the real touchstone was not Scripture but *his* doctrine of justification by Faith.

No. 48. Correspondence between Luther and Albert of Mainz.

(a) *Luther to the Elector*, 1 Dec. 1521.—Your Electoral Grace has again set up the idol at Halle, which ruins poor simple Christians in wealth and soul. . . . Your Electoral Grace, perhaps, thinks that I am removed from your way ; that you will now be safe from me ; and that you will easily crush the monk by means of the Emperor's Majesty. . . . Your Electoral Grace will remember the beginning, how great a fire has risen from the little despised spark, when all the world was so secure and thought that one poor Mendicant was immeasurably too small for the Pope, and was undertaking impossibilities. But God has taken up the cause. He has given the Pope with all his followers enough to do. Against and above the thoughts of the world He has carried the game to a point from which the Pope will hardly bring it down again. It will grow worse with him daily, so that the work of God may be clearly recognized. The same God lives still : no man can doubt it now. He has power to withstand a Cardinal of Mainz, though four Emperors were to stand by him. He has also special pleasure in breaking the lofty cedars ; and abasing the proud hardened Pharaohs. . . .

But let not your Electoral Grace think that Luther is dead.

He will glory freely and joyously in the God who has humbled the Pope, and begin a game with the Cárđinal of Mainz that he did not much expect. Act together, dear Bishops! Ye may remain lordlings! But ye shall neither silence nor deafen this spirit. Such disgrace shall befall you from it as ye now little look for! So I would have you warned. . . .

To this I request and await a straightforward, speedy answer from Your Electoral Grace, within fourteen days. For after fourteen days my book 'Against the idol in Halle' will be published, unless a plain answer be made me. . . .

(b) *The Elector of Mainz to Luther*, 21 Dec. 1521.—Dear Sir Doctor, I have received and read your letter . . . and taken it all favourably and in good part; but pardon me for saying that the cause which has moved you to write thus, has been long since entirely done away with. I will conduct and show myself, if God will, a pious priest and Christian prince, so far as God shall give me grace, strength, and understanding: for which I pray truly, and will have prayers offered for me. For I can do nothing of my own self, and confess that I stand in need of the grace of God. I cannot deny that I am a poor sinful man, who can sin and err, and daily do sin and err.

No. 49. Opinions on the Mass and on Monastic Vows.

(a) *Deliberatio habita de abrogatione Missarum inter . . . Fridericum Saxoniae Ducem, S. R. I. Electorem, et Academiam Wittenbergensem.*

Illustrissime Princeps, Domine clementissime, et voce et scripto Augustiniani mandato Celsitudinis Vestrae rationem sententiae suae nobis exposuerunt ac intelleximus his vere de causis eos Missas privatas in suo coetu abrogasse, quas C. V. ex hac illorum scheda cognoscet.

1º. Postquam ubique gentium adeo invaluit Missarum perniciosus et impius abusus, tam apud sacris initiatos quam profanos homines, ut evelli nequeat ex animis tam insita penitus opinio, videlicet, quod Missa tanquam bonum opus quo placaturi Deum *ἀγρον* seu pretium illi offeramus pro peccatis nostris et aliorum recepta est, idque adeo ut sacrificulus, vivens in proposito mortalis peccati, salubriter et fructuose putetur eam cacteris applicare. Propterea Augustiniani intermiserunt Missae celebrationem, cum talia Missarum spectacula sint re ipsa nervus, basis et fons horum abusuum, cupiuntque

per eam occasionem verum ac sincerum usum coenae Domini a Christo et apostolis traditum observatumque adiutore Deo restituere.

2^o. Privatae Missae, quales hodie fiunt, aperte pugnant cum institutione atque observatione Christi et apostolorum. Nam Christus et minimum duodecim apostoli multis una distribuerunt, nec unquam unus privatim se ipsum communicasse legitur. Hinc etiam Paulus privatas coenas Corinthiis prohibet, cum inquit 1 Cor. xi [33], Quoties convenitis ad manducandum, &c.

3^o. Christus utramque partem, hoc est, integrum sacramentum dari iussit et ordinavit omnibus. Cum igitur Missae, quas nostra vidit aetas, ita dispositae sint ut adstantibus una duntaxat pars sacramenti exhibeatur, non possunt Augustiniani bona conscientia hanc ceremoniam, a verbis Christi alienam, suo exemplo confirmare.

De his Augustinianorum articulis C. V. breviter cogitata nostra perscribemus. . . .

[1^o] Nam Missa, ut nunc vocant, seu Coena Dominica iuxta Christi institutionem proprie et principaliter nihil est nisi ipsa distributio et manducatio corporis et sanguinis Domini. De caetero quae adduntur, hominum et Romani Pontificis auctoritate recepta indiesque cumulata fuerunt. Nec differt manducatio sacerdotis ab opere laici sumentis, idem est sacramentum, quo admonemur ceu rato et infallibili signo et testimonio remissionis omnium peccatorum, iuxta Christi dictum: Hoc quotiescunque facietis, facite in mei commemorationem, i. e. recordantes misericordiae et beneficii quod vobis per mortem meam donatum et exhibitum est. Hinc ergo efficitur Missam seu manducationem sacerdotis nequaquam esse tale bonum opus quo Deo reddamus aut offeramus aliquid placans Deum, et satisfaciens pro nobis aut aliis, sicut nec manducatio laici alteri potest applicari, nec cuiusquam Baptismus valet pro alio.

Porro omnium confessione liquet totum illud regnum Missarum hoc errore constitutum, ut sint bonum opus ad nostra et aliorum peccata expianda. Quod quid aliud est quam prorsus obscurare praecipuum articulum doctrinae Evangelii de iustitia fidei veroque usu sacramentorum? Hoc itaque superstitionis contagio, serpente paulatim longiusque prodeunte, factum est ut in singulis fere templis et monasteriis hebdomadatim quatuor, quinque aut etiam plures Missae a singulis personis, in singulis altaribus celebrandae ordinatae

et fundatae sint, praeter alias funebres et quas votivas vocarunt quae in dies magno numero cumulatae sunt. Unde impuri sacrificuli, occasione corradendae pecuniae et faciendi quaestus, oblata lactanter et cupide talia Missarum aucupia amplectuntur, ac si qui forte integri bonique viri in illo ordine secundum conscientiam suam pie sacramento mallent uti, hi tamen, ob illas constitutiones et pactiones inviti et cum molestia nec sine animorum offensione coguntur celebrare Missas. . . .

Quocirca pertinet ad officium C. V. tanquam Christiani Principis, in cuius ditione, singulari Dei beneficio, lux Evangelii rursus effulsit, pro eo . . . curare ut talis Missae profanatio in ecclesiis C. V. prorsus aboleatur, ac contra verus piusque sacramenti usus quem Christus instituit et apostoli observarunt, instauretur. Sic enim Christus ipse in illa ipsa prima Coena multis verbis et ante et post distributionem Eucharistiae concionatur apostolis de morte, de resurrectione sua, de regno suo in ecclesia, &c., et in institutione sacramenti clare praecipit ut, quoties conveniant ad hanc Coenam, sui recordentur. Et haec postea fuit ecclesiae consuetudo ut, quoties convenit populus, primum praedicatum sit verbum Dei, nam hae conciones semper fuerunt praecipua causa et nervus publicae congregationis, et ministerium Evangelii debet esse publicum, deinde benedicebantur panis et vinum et distribuebantur petentibus. Haec forma, ut est rectissima, ita foret omnium tutissima, nec relinqueret locum aut occasionem alicui profanationi. Quod considerantes Augustiniani restitutionem sinceri ac veteris usus Coenae expetiverunt, et quia abhorrent a Missarum nefariis abusibus maluntque sine coactione libere ac sua sponte administrare hanc ceremoniam, approbamus eorum sententiam.

[2^o] Quod autem inter reliqua et hanc causam sui facti exponunt, neminem privatim et solum debere communicare, ea nobis quidem non satis firma videtur. . . .

[3^o] Quae postremo loco addunt de utraque specie seu integro sacramento, ea existimamus non posse refutari. . . .

Quapropter humiliter ac reverenter obtestamur C. V. ut, quod Principe Christiano dignum est, serio negotium istud suscipere ac promoveri, et eiusmodi profanationem Coenae Domini in Ducatibus ac territorio suo quam primum abolere, magnoque et excelso animo infamiam, si fortasse propterea C. V. Bohemus aut haereticus audiat, contemnere velit. . . .

C. V. deditissimi Justus Jonas,¹ Praepositus.
 Philippus Melanchthon.
 Nicolaus Amsdorffius.²
 Johannes Döltz a Veltkirch.

(b) *Synodi Augustinianorum de Libertate Monachorum sententia.*

Vicarius, Priores et fratres Ordinis S. Augustini, Wittembergam convocati, de votis mendicitate et aliis legibus monasticis sic pronunciavimus, ut sequitur; in qua sententia, quia Scripturam divinam secuti sumus, nolumus nos humana auctoritate ulla aut humanis traditionibus premi: decet enim verbo Dei omnes creaturas cedere. Ququam interim permittimus abundare suo sensu, qui aut hanc libertatem non capiunt, aut potestate sua concedere nolunt. Nos rationem iudicii nostri scimus etiam Deo reddendam esse, tantum abest ut hominibus reddere vereamur. Et quia consilium nostrum est piis conscientiiis mederi, nolumus patrocinari nostrum iudicium iis qui verbum Dei ad perniciem licentiae carnis praetexunt. Et quod Galatas Paulus, idem nos monemus omnes qui nostra haec lecturi vel audituri sunt, quod liberi sint modo ne dent libertatem in occasionem carni, sed satisfaciat sua cuique conscientia. Nam quod ex fide non fit peccatum est. Proinde, Fratres, nolite errare; Deus non irridetur.

1^o. Ergo permittimus omnibus vel manere in monastica vel deserere monasticen, quando qui in Christo sunt nec Iudaei nec Graeci nec monachi nec laici sunt. Et votum contra Evangelium non votum sed impietas est.

2^o. Quia Christiana libertas Spiritus libertas est, quae nec in esca nec in habitu posita est, placet ut interim veste et vulgatis ritibus monachorum utantur, qui in nostris congregationibus vivunt, ut omnibus omnia fiamus, Pauli exemplo 1 Cor. ix [22].

3^o. Sed ita moderemur ceremonias tum utendo tum abrogando necubi vel fides cuiusquam laedatur vel in caritatem peccetur. Non est enim regnum Dei esca et potus, sed iustitia pax et gaudium in Spiritu sancto.

4^o. Mendicitatem interdicimus, quam toties vetuit Scriptura, 2 Thess. iii [12]. . . . Interdicimus et Missis votivis, quando et ab omni specie mala abstinere nos Apostolus voluit.

¹ Justus Jonas, 1493-†1555; 1521, Provost of the Castle Church and Professor of Canon Law in Wittenberg; 1541-6, Preacher in Halle; 1552, Superintendent in Eisfeld.

² Nicolas von Amsdorf, 1483-†1565; 1508, Canon of the Castle Church; Reformer, 1524, of Magdeburg; 1528-31, of Goslar; 1542-6, 'Bishop' of Naumburg; 1550 in Eisenach.

5^o. Quantum fieri potest in Congregationibus nostris deligantur qui sint apti ad docendum verbum Dei, publice aut privatim, reliqui victum parent Fratibus opera manuarum, quae forma fuit veterum monasteriorum.

6^o. Quia moderari ceremonias et ritus omnes pro ratione temporum ac personarum visum est, volumus ut Superioribus suis pareant Fratres ex caritate, ut sine scandalo privatim et publice agamus et per omnia hoc praestemus ne blasphemetur bonum nostrum. Amen.

No. 50. Carlstadt's alterations in the Mass.

(a) *Letter of 26 or 27 Dec. 1521.* Last Sunday Dr. Carlstadt gave out in the parish church of Wittenberg that on the coming Feast of the Circumcision . . . he would publicly communicate every one who would, *sub utraque specie panis et vini*; preach a short sermon first, and then simply pronounce the words of Consecration, omitting everything else. Further, he did not intend to wear his chasuble, alb or cope at the aforesaid Mass.

(b) On Christmas Day he preached on the Sacrament, exhorting the people to receive it under both kinds. After the sermon he went straight up to the altar, said the *Confiteor*, and read Mass as far as the Gospel. Then he left out all the bowings and gesticulations with the crossings, the offering of chalice and host,¹ and what is called the little Canon.² The part from the great Canon to the Consecration³ he performed without a cross. Omitting the Elevation, he gave communion [of the Host] round and, as soon as he had done so, passed the cup of the Blood of Christ round too, saying separately to each, 'This is the cup of my blood of the new and everlasting testament, the spirit and mystery of faith, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.'⁴ . . . Immediately after the distribution, he went off, and almost all the people too.

No. 51. Melanchthon's account of the arrival of the Zwickau prophets, 27 Dec.

. . . Non ignorat Celsitudo Vestra quam multae variae et periculosae dissensiones de verbo Dei in urbe C. V. Zwicavia

¹ i. e. the Offertory.

² i. e. from the Offertory to the end of the Preface.

³ From 'Te igitur' to 'In mei memoriam facietis'.

⁴ 'Hic est enim . . . in remissionem peccatorum,' the 'verba Consecrationis' of the rubric, which he repeated as the formula of administration,

excitatas sint. Sunt et illi in vincula contexti qui nescio quare reverent. Haec enim mutuum auctoribus tunc advolant tres viri, duo sancti, litterarum rudes¹; literatus tertius est.² Audiunt. Mira sunt quae de sese praedicant; miror se clara voce Deo ad docendum, esse sibi cum Deo familiaria colloquia; veluti laici; breviter viros esse prophetas et apostolos. Quibus ego (promodo) convovear, non facile dicunt. Magnis rationibus adducere cœpi, ut contenti eos nolim. Nam esse in eis spiritus quendam nullus argumentis apparet, sed de nullis rationibus praeter Martinum nemo facile potuit. Proinde non cessat hoc Evangelium perculant, ecclesiae gratia et pace, unde cum eis agendum est ut in hoc hominibus Martini copia fiat. Ad hunc enim provocant. Non scriberem haec ad C. V. sed ne magnitudo popularis in tempore maturari consilium. Certe in eis est simul ne Spiritus Dei contingatur, simul ne occupemur a Satana. . .

No. 52. Luther's reproof of Melanchthon, 13 Jan. 1522.

. . . Venio ad prophetas, de primis non probis tuam timiditatem, cum et melius non spiritu quam credulitate pollas quoniam. An primis, cum testimonia perficiant de corpore, non saltem audienti sunt; sed, nulla consilium formant, spiritus praesens. Habent consilium Gaudium differendi, nihil enim solent audire ab eis nec et fieri, quod sciant non quod possint vel amari. Tu vero et mea parte hoc exploras, an vocationem suam possint probare. Neque enim Deus aliquem aliquem non vel per hominem vocatum vel per suum declaratum, vel ipsum quidem Filium. Prophetas illi ex lege et oratione prophetali suscitant, sed non modo per homines. Prorsus nolo eos recipi, si nuda revelatione sese vocatos asserant, cum nec Samuelem quidem vellet loqui Deus nisi per auctoritatem sacerdotum Heli. Hoc primum ad publicam docendi functionem pertinet.

Iam vero privatum spirituum explorum etiam quædam non experti sunt spirituales illas arguit et insinuat divinus motus interiorum. Si scilicet blandi, tranquillæ, dæmonia vel vana et religio etiam in tertium non aut non ratione dicant, non approbas. Quia signum filii hominis deest, qui

¹ Nicolas Storch and Thomas Marx, of Elsterberg.

² Mark Stubner, a student of Wittenberg.

est βάρυς, probator unicus Christianorum et certus spirituum discretor. Vis scire locum, tempus, modum collōquiorum divinatorum? Audi: 'Sicut leo contrivit omnia ossa mea.' . . . Non sic loquitur Maiestas (ut vocant) immediate, ut homo videat: imo, 'Non videbit me homo et vivet.' . . . Et quid plura? Quasi Maiestas possit cum vetere homine loqui familiariter, et non prius occidere atque exsiccare, ne foeteant odores eius pessimi, cum sit ignis consumens. Etiam somnia et visiones sanctorum sunt terribiles saltem postquam intelliguntur. Tenta ergo et ne Iesum quidem audias gloriosum, nisi videris prius crucifixum.

Ad causam, inquires, quid? Hoc enim est alios refutare, non nostra probare. At hoc quomodo possum absens, cum ignorem quid moveant, si nihil aliud excitant quam illud: 'Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuit, salvus erit,' et quod parvuli per se non credant. Prorsus me nihil movent. Quomodo enim probabunt eos non credere? At quod non loquuntur et ostendunt fidem, pulchre. Hac ratione quot horis et nos Christiani erimus, dum dormimus et alia facimus? Annon ergo eodem modo potest Deus toto infantiae tempore, ceu continuo somno, fidem in illis servare? Bene, inquires, hoc confutat adversarios de fide iam infusa. At hoc interim sufficit eos inveniri tales qui nihil probent et falso spiritu commoti sint. Quid de infundenda dicis? Nihil est reliquum prorsus nisi fides aliena quam si statuere non possumus, nihil disputandum est sed simpliciter damnandus baptismus parvulorum.

Tu dicis infirma esse exempla fidei alienae? Ego nihil firmitus esse dico. . . . Stat enim fidelis promissio Christi, Matt. xviii [19] 'Si duo super terram, etc.' et 'Quaecunque petieritis, credite quia accipietis, et fient vobis'. . . . Et quid plura? Testimonia et exempla totius Scripturae stant a fide aliena, i. e., a propria fide quae impetret alteri fidem et quicquid volet. . . .

Cum igitur ad baptismum afferre non sit aliud quam ad Christum praesentem et manus gratiae aperientem in terra offerre, et ille universis exemplis ostenderit sese acceptare quod offertur: cur hic dubitamus? Saltem hoc prophetis istis abstulimus ne possint sua probare, cum desit eis exemplum et testimonium nobis autem adsint testimonia et exempla, tum eorum testimonium nobis non repugnat. Quis enim sic arguet, credendum est et baptizandum, ergo parvuli non sunt baptizandi. Non enim ex hoc loco istam consequentiam trahent, cum non probet parvulos non credere, quod ipsi praesupponunt,

et aliunde probare debent atque non possunt. Quod ergo non est contra Scripturam, pro Scriptura est, et Scriptura pro eo. . .

Sed plura coram. Semper expectavi Satanam, ut hoc ulcus tangeret, sed noluit per Papistas. In nobis ipsis et inter nostros molitur hoc gravissimum schisma, verum Christus conteret eum velociter sub pedibus nostris. Volo etiam scire ut tractaris illud, 1 Cor. vii [14]: 'alioqui filii vestri immundi essent, nunc autem sancti sunt.' . . . Nam hinc parvulos fuisse baptizatos ritu et tempore Apostolorum, optarim ostendi. . .

No. 53. The Confusion at Wittenberg.

(a) *Letter of 25 Jan. 1522.* I would have you know that the University and the Town Council have agreed upon the way in which Mass should be celebrated in the parish church to which we all belong. First will come the hymn with the Introit, *Gloria in excelsis*, Epistle, Gospel, and *Sanctus*. Then follows the sermon, and afterwards the Mass as our God and Lord Jesus instituted it *in coena*. The priest speaks the *verba consecrationis* aloud in German, and admonishes the people that to every one who feels the burden of sin and hungers and thirsts after God's grace, the body and blood of the Lord will be administered. When the people have communicated, *Agnus Dei*, *Carmen* [v. l. *Commun.*¹] and *Benedicamus Domino* are sung. The Canon has been upset. For the future we will tolerate no beggar, be he monk or no. The poor shall be provided for from the common purse. . . . They will not endure images in church, and in time will remove them. Strong passages of Scripture are alleged against them. . . .

(b) *Fröschel's Preface.* These three men² give out that no one should study or keep school, for Christ has forbidden all this in Matthew xxiii [8] with these words, 'Be not ye called Rabbi' or masters. In consequence of this many men of talent about this time left this place and forsook their studies, who might have been useful to their country and countrymen. Dr. Carlstadt went round to the houses of the townsmen, and asked them how they understood this or that passage in this or that prophet. And when the simple townsmen wondered at his question and said to him, 'Sir Doctor, how comes it that you learned men and doctors in Holy Scripture thus ask us poor, illiterate, unlearned folk such questions? Ye should rather tell us the meaning,' then Carlstadt answered them that

¹ sc. *Communio*.

² Carlstadt, Zwilling, and George Mohr, the schoolmaster.

God had hidden it from them, as the Lord Jesus himself says in Matt. xi [25] and Luke x [21]. . . . Besides, these three persons began not only to storm against schools, but also against churches and images in churches, that they would cast these images out of the churches. And they gave out that no learned man should be allowed as preacher or priest in the churches, but laymen and handicraftsmen, who were only able to read, as I have known many such persons who wished to be called and chosen to the office.

No. 54. Luther on his eight sermons of 9-16 March.

Ut nuntius testari posset se pervenisse, ego scribo, optime Pater: alioqui nulla erat scribendi causa, praesertim mihi literis et fabulis et *ὀμιλίαις* hominum occupatissimo. . . . Ego Carolostadium offendi quod ordinationes suas cassavi, licet doctrinam non damnarim, nisi quod displicet in solis ceremoniis et externis faciebus laborasse eum, neglecta interim vera doctrina christiana, hoc est, fide et caritate. Nam sua inepta docendi ratione eo populum perduxerat, ut sese Christianum arbitraretur per has res nihili, si utraque specie communicaret, si tangeret, si non confiteretur, si imagines frangeret. En malitiam Satanae, ut per novam speciem molitus est erigere ad ruinam Evangelii. Nam haec ego quaesieram hactenus, ut conscientiae ab istis contrariis faciebus liberarentur, et res ipsa per sese rueret communi consensu. At ille cupiebat fieri subito novus magister, et suas ordinationes in populo pressa auctoritate mea erigere. . . .

No. 55. From the Translation of the New Testament.

(a) *Preface to the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude*, 1522.—All the genuine books of Holy Writ agree in this, that one and all they preach and treat of Christ. This too is the true touchstone for testing all books, to see whether they treat of Christ or not, since all Scripture witnesses to Christ (Rom. iii. 21) and St. Paul desires not to know anything save Christ (1 Cor. ii. 2). Whatever does not teach Christ that is not apostolic, though St. Peter or St. Paul taught it. Conversely, whatever preaches Christ, that were apostolic, though Judas,

God had hidden it from them, as the Lord Jesus himself says in Matt. xi [25] and Luke x [21]. . . . Besides, these three persons began not only to storm against schools, but also against churches and images in churches, that they would cast these images out of the churches. And they gave out that no learned man should be allowed as preacher or priest in the churches, but laymen and handicraftsmen, who were only able to read, as I have known many such persons who wished to be called and chosen to the office.

No. 54. Luther on his eight sermons of 9-16 March.

Ut nuntius testari posset se pervenisse, ego scribo, optime Pater: alioqui nulla erat scribendi causa, praesertim mihi literis et fabulis et *ἐμυλίας* hominum occupatissimo. . . . Ego Carolostadium offendi quod ordinationes suas cassavi, licet doctrinam non damnarim, nisi quod displicet in solis ceremoniis et externis faciebus laborasse eum, neglecta interim vera doctrina christiana, hoc est, fide et caritate. Nam sua inepta docendi ratione eo populum perduxerat, ut sese Christianum arbitraretur per has res nihili, si utraque specie communicaret, si tangeret, si non confiteretur, si imagines frangeret. En malitiam Satanae, ut per novam speciem molitus est erigere ad ruinam Evangelii. Nam haec ego quaesieram hactenus, ut conscientiae ab istis contrariis faciebus liberarentur, et res ipsa per sese rueret communi consensu. At ille cupiebat fieri subito novus magister, et suas ordinationes in populo pressa auctoritate mea erigere. . . .

No. 55. From the Translation of the New Testament.

(a) *Preface to the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude*, 1522.—All the genuine books of Holy Writ agree in this, that one and all they preach and treat of Christ. This too is the true touchstone for testing all books, to see whether they treat of Christ or not, since all Scripture witnesses to Christ (Rom. iii. 21) and St. Paul desires not to know anything save Christ (1 Cor. ii. 2). Whatever does not teach Christ that is not apostolic, though St. Peter or St. Paul taught it. Conversely, whatever preaches Christ, that were apostolic, though Judas,

Annas, Pilate, and Herod had the doing of it (Walch, xiv. 149).

(b) *Preface to the Exposition of 1 Peter*, 1523:—Those apostles who treat oftenest and highest of how faith in Christ alone justifies, are the best Evangelists. Therefore are St. Paul's Epistles more a Gospel than Matthew, Mark, and Luke. For these do not set down much more than the story of the works and miracles of Christ; but the grace which we receive through Christ, no one so boldly extols as St. Paul, especially in his letter to the Romans (Walch, ix. 626).

(c) *Preface to the New Testament*, 1524.—John's Gospel, St. Paul's Epistles, especially that to the Romans, and St. Peter's First Epistle are the right kernel and marrow of all books . . . for in them thou findest written down not many works and miracles of Christ, but in a quite masterly way expounded how faith in Christ overcomes sin and death and hell, and gives life, righteousness, and peace. Which is, as thou hast heard, the right kind of Gospel. . . . Therefore is St. James' Epistle, in comparison with these, a mere letter of straw; for it has nothing evangelical about it (Walch, xiv. 104 sq.).

XXIII

ADRIAN VI AND THE DIET OF NÜRNBERG,

1522-3.

Shortly after the outbreak, Aug. 1521, of the first war, 1521-6, between Charles and Francis, Leo X died, 1 Dec. 1521. He was succeeded, 9 Jan. 1522, by Adrian VI, by birth, 1459, a Netherlander, once Charles' tutor, and now his Viceroy in Spain. Adrian 'had no sympathy either with the New Learning or the New Theology' (Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vi. 223 sq., ed. 1897); but he was genuinely 'desirous of disciplinary reform'. [No. 56] Aleander, among others, urged it upon him (J. Friedrich, *Der Reichstag zu Worms*, ap. *Hist. Abhandlungen der k. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XI. Bd. iii. Abth. 89): and he sent as his nuncio to the Diet of Nürnberg, 17 Nov. 1522-9 Feb. 1523, Francesco Chiericato, Bishop of Teramo, 1522-†39, 'to prove to the Germans the willingness of the Pope to remedy abuses which could no longer be defended' (Creighton, vi. 252). On 8 Dec. in [No. 57] a conversation with Hans von der Planitz, the Elector Frederick's Chancellor (Wülcker and Virck, *Des Kurfürstlichen Rathes Hans von der Planitz Berichte aus dem Reichsregiment in Nürnberg*, 1521-3, 270 sq.), the Legate seemed to agree that force was no remedy: but on 3 Jan. 1523 he commu-

nicated to the Diet [No. 58] a Brief dated 25 Nov. 1522, in which Adrian insisted on taking repression first (Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ad ann. 1522, lx-lxiv), in spite of his own admissions of the need for reform which, as part of [No. 59] the **Legate's Instructions** (*ibid.* lxxv-lxxi), were now read to the Diet. [No. 60] The **Estates replied** 5 Feb. with a demand for a 'free Christian Council' (*ibid.* ad ann. 1523, ii-xii; Goldasti *Const. Imp.* i. 452 sqq.), and when, 7 Feb., the Legate remonstrated (Raynaldus xv-xx), they 'Pontificium oratorem priori responsione contentum esse iusserunt, donec gravamina nationis Germanicae summo Pontifici transmissa forent' (*ibid.* xx). This re-affirmation (cf. B. Gebhardt, *Die Gravamina der deutschen Nation*, Breslau, 1884) of [No. 61] **German grievances** (Goldasti *Const. Imp.* i. 456 sqq.) was the work of the lay Estates. Thus the Diet threw its shield over Lutheranism, which was within an ace of becoming a national movement. The collection of its decrees or Recess (*Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, vol. iii, No. 117, 736 sqq., ed. A. Wrede, 1901) was read 9 Feb., and confirmed by [No. 62] the **Imperial Edict** of 6 March (*ibid.* No. 84, 448 sqq., and in Latin, Goldasti *op. cit.* ii. 150 sqq.). Adrian VI died 14 Sept. 1523.

No. 56. Aleander's advice to Adrian VI.

[See Creighton, vi. 240, n. 1.]

Quod in priori feci libro, quem de remediis contra Lutheranam haeresim ab amplissimo Legato in Germania adhibendis scripsi, in hoc itidem, in quo agitur, quid hic interim hac eadem de re Pontifici faciendum restet, etiam atque etiam monere non desinam, omnem salutis spem contra hoc malum quod in dies augescit, a Deo pendere. Hinc sumendum huius consilii principium: huc universae rei exitum referendum. Igitur imploranda ad hoc praecipue divina misericordia est, quam facile nobis conciliabimus piis precibus, sed praesertim pristinae vitae in melius reformatione. Neque speremus, ita praeteritum Deum conniventibus oculis errata nostra, ut proximis retro temporibus. Alia nunc aetas, alia nunc temporum conditio: immutatus est animus populorum, qui prius delicta nostra partim putabant falsa, partim in meliorem partem interpretabantur. Iam flagellum paratum, iam securis ad radicem arboris posita videtur, nisi velimus resipiscere. Neque admodum necesse erit novas nunc leges condere, aut Bullas undequaque fulminare: sacros habemus canones, optima instituta Patrum, ad quae si acta nostra dirigamus, omnia haec mala facile propulsabuntur. Tollat Suius D. N. e Curia sua eos errores, quibus merito Deus et homines offenduntur: et quantum eius vires et auctoritas patiuntur, clerum

sibi toto terrarum orbe subditum, monendo, increpando, etiam sacerdotiis privando castiget. Id si semel Germani quum in nostris tum in suis sacerdotibus factum videant, nulla posthac de Luthero fiet mentio. Itaque in Nobis ipsis omnium malorum origo pariter et medela sita est.

**No. 57. Chieregato and Hans von der Planitz,
8 Dec. 1522.**

[Bishop Creighton's summary, *History of the Papacy*, vi. 252 sq.]

'The Pope,' said Chieregato [cf. Wülcker and Virck, *op. cit.*, Nr. 121 § 7] 'was convinced of Frederick's good intentions: [§ 8] Luther had done good service in bringing abuses to light, for many popes had done much that was ill-advised, and Leo X was not free from his share of blame. But when Luther proceeded to attack the order of the Church, the sacraments, the authority of Fathers and Council, he became absurd and intolerable. [§ 9] Now that there was an upright and pious Pope, every one ought to help him in his good endeavours for the repose of the Church, the peace of Christendom, and the expulsion of the Turk.' He expressed 'his hope that Planitz was of the same opinion'. Planitz [§ 11] 'was no theologian, and did not profess to judge whether Luther's opinions were right or wrong. [§ 12] As for the Elector, he, as a layman, did not pretend to interfere with ecclesiastical matters: [§ 13] he did not banish Luther, because, if he were gone, less responsible men would take his place; indeed, Luther's return to Wittenberg had prevented worse mischief, and if he were driven elsewhere he would only speak more strongly and spread his influence. [§ 14] One thing was clear, that force would be no remedy. Luther relied on his learning and on the Scriptures, and could only be met on the same grounds. Learned men must confer quietly with Luther, and the results of their conference must be laid before a General Council. [§ 15] Chieregato listened sympathetically and seemed to agree.'

**No. 58. Brief of Adrian VI to the Diet,
25 Nov. 1522.**

[§ LX] Mox vero ab externis ad intestina animum advertentes . . . percepinus Martinum Lutherum, post sedis Apostolicæ . . . sententiam, . . . post Caroli Romanorum Regis in

Imperatorem electi et vestrum imperiale edictum super eiusdem sententiae executione in proximis comitiis Wormatiac habitis decretum non modo per quos deceret non punitum . . . sed, impie contemnentem, novos quotidie libros . . . divulgare . . . adeo ut . . . in sacerdotum bona iri, et obedientiam tam ecclesiasticis quam saecularibus debitam vilipendi coeptum sit: et tandem inter nonnullos vestrum ad civilia bella deventum.

[§ LXII] . . . Omittimus quod enormissimum est, tantam tamque religiosam nationem per unum fraterculum . . . seduci ab ea via qua . . . tot martyres, tot praeclari doctrina et sanctitate viri et maiores denique vestri omnes hactenus incesserunt; quasi solus Lutherus sapiat et sciat, solus nunc primum (ut de se haereticus Montanus gloriabatur) Spiritum Sanctum acceperit, et Ecclesia ipsa . . . in tenebris ignorantiae . . . semper erraverit, donec novo Lutheri lumine illustraretur.

[§ LXIII] Quae omnia, quamquam apud eos qui sapiunt peridicula iudicantur, simplicibus tamen animis plurimum sunt perniciose, et eis qui novarum rerum cupiditate omnem ordinem immutatum vellent, plurimas ad ea perpetranda quae nunc experimini, causas et fomenta subministrant. An non consideratis, Germani principes et populi, praeludium esse quoddam hoc eorum malorum quae Lutherus et eius sectatores moliantur? An non aperte videtis istud praetensum principio a Lutheranis veritatis evangelicae patrocinium, detectum nunc esse merum rerum vestrarum latrocinium? An putatis alio tendere istos iniquitatis filios, quam ut libertatis nomine omni obedientia sublata, quod cuique libuerit faciendi licentiam inducant? An ullius pensi iussa et leges vestras habituros creditis, qui sacros canones et Patrum decreta necnon sacrosancta concilia, quorum auctoritati Imperatorum leges semper et libenter cesserunt . . . non solum vilipendunt, sed etiam diabolica rabie lacerare et comburere non verentur; denique qui sacerdotibus, qui episcopis, qui Pontifici summo debitam obedientiam detrectant? An speratis contenturos sacrilegas manus a laicorum bonis et non omnia potius sibi quae poterunt vindicatos qui res Deo dicatas quotidie, vobis praesentibus et videntibus, ferunt aguntque? An denique vestris cervicibus parsuros qui non tangendos Christos Domini contemnerare, caedere, trucidare ausi sunt? In vos, in vestras res, domos, uxores, liberos, ditiones, dominatus, templa quae colitis, haec miseranda calamitas tendit, nisi mature obviam eatis.

[§ LXIV] Proinde . . . requirimus . . . ut . . . ad hoc commune

incendium extinguendum . . . toto animo incumbatis, et Martinum Lutherum caeterosque istorum tumultuum et errorum auctores ad rectam sentiendi et vivendi viam . . . reducere enitamini. Quod si . . . audire recusaverint, ne quod reliquum et nunc sanum constat . . . inficiatur, in eos iuxta sacras constitutiones, iuxta leges a vestratibus imperatoribus latas, atque adeo recens vestrum super hac re imperiale edictum severitatis virga animadvertatis. . . .

No. 59. Chieregato's Instructions.

[§ LXV] Instructio pro te Francisco Chieregato de quibusdam quae praelatis principibus et civitatum Germanicarum oratoribus dicere poteris viva voce ubi et quando opportunum iudicaveris.

[§ LXX] Item dices nos ingenue fateri quod Deus hanc persecutionem Ecclesiae suae inferre permittit propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum et Ecclesiae praelatorum. . . . Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot iam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata . . . nec mirum si aegritudo a capite in membra, a summis Pontificibus in alios inferiores praelatos descenderit. Omnes nos (id est, praelati ecclesiastici) declinavimus unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit iam diu qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum. Quamobrem necesse est ut omnes demus gloriam Deo et humiliemus animas nostras ei, videatque unusquisque nostrum unde ceciderit, et se potius quilibet iudicet quam a Deo in virga furoris sui iudicari velit. Qua in re, quod ad nos attinet, polliceberis nos omnem operam adhibitueros, ut primum curia haec, unde forte omne hoc malum processit, reformetur; ut sicut inde corruptio in omnes inferiores emanavit, ita etiam ab eadem sanitas et reformatio omnium emanet. Ad quod procurandum nos tanto arctius obligatos reputamus, quanto universum mundum huiusmodi reformationem avidius desiderare videmus. . . . Quanquam nemo mirari debebit, si non statim omnia errata et abusus omnes per nos emendatos viderit: inveteratos nimium morbus est nec simplex sed varius et multiplex: pedetentim in eius cura procedendum est, et prius gravioribus magisque periculosis occurrendum, ne omnia pariter reformari volentes, omnia perturbemus. . . .

[§ LXXI] Quod autem ultimis litteris tuis scribis questos fuisse tecum principes istos quod concordatis eorum per hanc sedem derogatum sit; dices nos de his, quae ante nos facta

incendium extinguendum . . . toto animo incumbatis, et Martinum Lutherum caeterosque istorum tumultuum et errorum auctores ad rectam sentiendi et vivendi viam . . . reducere enitamini. Quod si . . . audire recusaverint, ne quod reliquum et nunc sanum constat . . . inficiatur, in eos iuxta sacras constitutiones, iuxta leges a vestratibus imperatoribus latas, atque adeo recens vestrum super hac re imperiale edictum severitatis virga animadvertatis. . . .

No. 59. Chieregato's Instructions.

[§ LXV] Instructio pro te Francisco Chieregato de quibusdam quae praelatis principibus et civitatum Germanicarum oratoribus dicere poteris viva voce ubi et quando opportunum iudicaveris.

[§ LXX] Item dices nos ingenue fateri quod Deus hanc persecutionem Ecclesiae suae inferre permittit propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum et Ecclesiae praelatorum. . . . Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot iam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata . . . nec mirum si aegritudo a capite in membra, a summis Pontificibus in alios inferiores praelatos descenderit. Omnes nos (id est, praelati ecclesiastici) declinavimus unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit iam diu qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum. Quamobrem necesse est ut omnes demus gloriam Deo et humiliemus animas nostras ei, videatque unusquisque nostrum unde ceciderit, et se potius quilibet iudicet quam a Deo in virga furoris sui iudicari velit. Qua in re, quod ad nos attinet, polliceberis nos omnem operam adhibuituros, ut primum curia haec, unde forte omne hoc malum processit, reformetur; ut sicut inde corruptio in omnes inferiores emanavit, ita etiam ab eadem sanitas et reformatio omnium emanet. Ad quod procurandum nos tanto arctius obligatos reputamus, quanto universum mundum huiusmodi reformationem avidius desiderare videmus. . . . Quanquam nemo mirari debet, si non statim omnia errata et abusus omnes per nos emendatos viderit: inveteratus nimium morbus est nec simplex sed varius et multiplex: pedetentim in eius cura procedendum est, et prius gravioribus magisque periculosis occurrendum, ne omnia pariter reformari volentes, omnia perturbemus. . . .

[§ LXXI] Quod autem ultimis litteris tuis scribis questos fuisse tecum principes istos quod concordatis eorum per hanc sedem derogatum sit; dices nos de his, quae ante nos facta

fuere, culpari non posse nec debere, nobisque eiusmodi derogationes, etiam dum in minoribus essemus, semper plurimum displicuisse. Proinde nobis certissimam sententiam esse, etiam si ipsi non requirerent, illis nostri pontificatus tempore penitus abstinere, partim ut unicuique ius suum servemus, partim quia aequitas et humanitas exposcit, ut inclytam nationem nostram non solum non offendamus sed etiam peculiare ei favores impendamus.

De processibus vero, quos a Rota advocari et ad patres remitti postulant, dices nos cupere eis in hoc gratificari, quantum honeste possimus; sed propter absentiam Auditorum ab urbe pestis gratia non posse nos de qualitate et habitudine ipsorum processuum ad praesens informari: reversis vero illis, quod peste iam decrescente brevi futurum speramus, facturos in gratiam dictorum principum quidquid rationabiliter poterimus. . . .

Item quia intelleximus in Germania esse multos bonos et doctos viros pauperes, aliqua etiam praeclara ingenia quae ex indignitate apostolicarum provisionum histrionibus et stabulariis potius quam viris doctis fieri solitarum, a sedis huius devotione (fuerint) aversa, cupimus ut inquiras quinam illi sint, eorumque nomina ad nos transmittas, ut occurrente beneficiorum Germanicorum vacatione, illis proprio motu providere possimus. Scimus enim quantum Dei honori et animarum saluti ac aedificationi obfuerit, quod iamdiu beneficia ecclesiastica, maxime curam et regimen animarum habentia, data fuerunt hominibus indignis. . . .

No. 60. The reply of the Estates, 5 Feb. 1523.

[§ V] Ad haec S. C. M^{tis} locumtenens et principes alique ordines dicunt se non minus quam Beatitudinem Pontificis ex animo dolere de . . . incommodis quae . . . ex Lutherana secta aliisve provenierint; quidquid enim auxilii . . . pro exstirpandis erroribus . . . praestare unquam poterunt, sunt . . . paratissimi, ingenueque agnoscunt se et Beatitudini Pontificis et S. C. M^{ti}, ut Christianos decet Principes, ad omnem obedientiam esse obnoxios. Sed quod sedis apostolicae sententia in Lutherum lata, simulque S. C. M^{tis} edictum non sit debita executioni demandatum, non sine maximis . . . rationibus, ut puta ne peiora inde causarentur etc. hactenus praetermissum est. Maiori namque populi parti iampridem persuasum est, et modo Lutheranis libris ac dogmatibus populorum opinio sic informata ut iam pro comperto habeant nationi Germanicae a Curia Romana per

certos abusus multa et magna gravamina et incommoda illata esse: ob id, si pro executione apostolicae sedis sententiae vel imperatoriae maiestatis edicti quippiam acerbius attentatum esset, mox popularis multitudo sibi hanc suspensionem animo concepisset, ac si talia fierent pro evertenda evangelica veritate et satinentiis manutinentisque malis abusibus impietatibusque. Unde indubie aliud nihil quam gravissimi tumultus populares intestinaque bella speranda essent, quemadmodum ex multis ac variis veram argumentis principes aliqui ordines iam plane didicere et cognovere. Opportunioribus itaque remediis his malis, in hac potissimum temporum difficultate, succurrendum esse existimant. . . .

[§ VII] Nam nisi istiusmodi abusus et gravamina, simulque certi articuli quos saeculares principes iuxta haec specialiter designatos scriptis exhibebunt, fideliter reformentur, vera pax et concordia inter ecclesiasticos saecularesque ordines, huiusque tumultus et errorum extirpatio per Germaniam minime speranda est: nam ex . . . variis bellorum tumultibus, quibus Germania nostra multis annis interturbata; item ob alia gravamina et incommoda quae huic nationi hactenus incubuerunt, haec natio pecuniis ac divitiis adeo est . . . exhausta ut etiam iam pro necessaria iustitiae ac pacis conservatione in his deficiat: multo maiori itaque incommodo et difficultate Hungarorum regno et Croatis petita auxilia contra Turcam praestare poterit.

[§ VIII] Cum autem ordines S. R. I. nihil dubitent Beat^m Pont^{em} pro comperto habere principes Germaniae in solutionem annuatum ad aliquot annos sedi apostolicae solvendarum ea lege ac conditione consensisse, ut illae in oppugnationem perfidissimi Turcae et defensionem fidei catholicae converterentur, ex quo autem numerus annorum . . . transit neque annatae illae a . . . Pontificibus Romanis in hunc usum in quem decretae sunt conversae . . . quare . . . orant ut B^o. P^o. velit haec et alia paterno affectu considerare et illas annatas . . . in futurum non exigere, sed . . . fisco Romani imperii applicandas relinquere ut . . . possint per Germanicam nationem aliis Christianis potentatibus contra Turcam communem hostem auxilia . . . praestari. . . .

[§ IX] Item, quum B^o. P^o. inter alia desiderat informari quibus mediis huic Lutherano errori commodius obviari possit, ad haec . . . nullum . . . efficacius . . . remedium illustrissimus dominus princeps locumtenens ceterique principes et ordines cogitare possunt quam quod B^o. P^o., accedente ad haec S. C. M. consensu, liberum Christianum concilium ad locum conve-

nientem in natione Germanica, quanto ocius et celerius fieri possit, videlicet in Argentoratum, vel Moguntiam, Coloniam Agrippinam, vel ad civitatem Metensem . . . indiceret, nec ultra unius anni spatium, si possibile foret, haec concilii convocatio et designatio differretur; et quod in tali concilio eis qui interesse deberent, ecclesiastici vel laicalis ordinis, . . . libere liceret loqui et consulere . . . ; quinimmo quilibet ad haec debeat esse obnoxius, ut non dulcia sed vera . . . consulat. . .

[§ X] Verum quibus modis . . . interim . . . isti tumultus et populi errores poterunt pacari . . . maxima cura . . . principes consuluerunt, cum non minima pars istius negotii ex hac medii temporis intercapedine pendeat. Itaque deliberaverunt . . . apud . . . principem Saxoniae . . . ne Lutherus et sui sectatores aliquid amplius scribat, edat et typis excudi faciat. . . Curabuntque simul . . . ut per omnem Germaniam cum divini verbi concionatoribus . . . diligenter agant, ne in populum Christianum spargant . . . ea per quae possit . . . multitudo ad tumultum . . . moveri aut in aliquem errorem induci; sed quod nihil praeter verum, purum, sincerum et sanctum evangelium et approbatam scripturam pie mansuete et Christiane iuxta doctrinam et expositionem approbatam et ab ecclesia Christiana receptam Scripturae doceant et praedicent, omniaque ab illa omittant quae . . . subtilius indagare . . . minime expedit, nihilque in populo per concionem disputationum moveant, sed quidquid controversiae fuerit usque ad determinationem futuri concilii reservent.

[§ XI] Ordinabunt praeterea . . . episcopi . . . viros doctos probos et sacris litteris peritos, qui praedicantibus . . . intendere debebunt; et si quid ab illis . . . erratum . . . esse offenderint, . . . eos corrigent, . . . ne quispiam suspicari possit ut veritas evangelica per hoc impediri quaeratur. . . Praeterea in omnibus bibliothecis et apud typographos . . . providebunt ne in futurum aliquid novi typis excudatur, maxime ne libelli famosi . . . vendantur: et ordinabunt apud omnes potestatis ut si quispiam aliquid novi edere, vendere, vel typis excudere voluerit, ut prius per aliquos viros probos doctos et litterarum peritos, ista . . . recognoscantur, et nisi pereosdem . . . approbatum fuerit, minime . . . publicetur: et per haec media sperant, quod hoc tempore poterit istis tumultibus . . . mederi, maxime uti B^o. P^a. in istis gravaminibus congruam . . . faciet reformationem . . . atque liberum et Christianum designabit concilium. . .

[§ XII] Postremo de presbyteris qui matrimonium contrahunt et de religiosis qui relictis monasteriis ad saeculum redeunt, de quibus R. D. Nuntius Apostolicus . . . meminit,

considerant principes et Imperii ordines, ex quo in legibus civilibus nulla poena specialiter super his sit statuta, ob id congruum . . . ipsis visum est, ut tales per eorum ordinarios, debita poena sacris canonum constitutionibus super hoc expressa, . . . puniantur. . . . Sed quod pro tuitione iurisdictionis ecclesiasticae eis auxilium . . . impendant, et super his omnibus publica mandata faciant, ne quispiam ordinarios in punitione . . . talium impediat, sed quando alias illi votorum transgressores in ditione . . . alicuius principis vel potestatis saecularis delinquerent, quod ex tunc debitis . . . poenis puniantur. . . .

No. 61. The Centum Gravamina.

1. *De dispensationibus aere redemptis.* Inter reliqua onera, vel illud minime postremo loco est collocandum, quod constitutionibus humanis multa prohibentur, imperantur item multa, quae nullo divino praecepto vel interdicta sunt vel imperata. Quod genus sunt: Matrimoniorum tam innumera excogitata obstacula, ex affinitatis, publicae honestatis cognatione, spirituali legalique, et consanguinitatis tam multis gradibus originem trahentia. Ciborum item usus interdictus. . . . Haec nimirum atque iis similes complures humanae constitutiones cunctaeque ligant homines donec pecunia sibi harum legum gratiam a statuentibus impetrent; ut ita pecunia faciat divitibus licitum quod tenuibus gratis sit prohibitum. Illicitisque his . . . retiaculis magna nummorum copia a Germanis est expiscata, e Germania et trans Alpes lata. . . .

2. *De tempore interdicto.* Pari modo agitur cum celebrandis nuptiarum solennibus a Dominica Septuagesima . . . sub Quadragesimae usque initium, quo tempore . . . nuptias celebrari interdictum est: quum tamen interim et ab ecclesiasticis et a saecularibus passim sine discrimine publice genialiter vivatur. Sed ita demum interdictum illud procedit, si gratis hoc facere quis intendat. Quod si nummi spes refuserit, iam quod primum erat prohibitum, impune ac libere facere licet. . . .

3. *De oneribus papalium indulgentiarum.* Illud importabile iam olim increbuit Romanarum indulgentiarum onus, quando sub persona pietatis, quum aut Basilicas Romanas construere aut profectionem in Turcas parare polliciti sunt Romani Pontifices, omnem a simplicibus nimirumque credulis Germanis exsuxerunt. Et . . . per has imposturas ac earum conductitios praecones . . . profligata est germana Christianorum pietas; dum, qui extrudere volebant venales suas Bullas, laudes suis mercibus occinebant, miras et inauditas condonari . . . noxas . . . modo

numeraretur aliquid, modo tinniat dextra. Atque his mercium nundinationibus simul et spoliata est aere Germania et Christi pietas exstincta, quando quilibet pro pretii quod in has merces expenderat modo peccandi impunitatem sibi pollicebatur. . . .

4. Et licet indulgentiae hae non semel in hoc ad Germanos missae sint quasi . . . fideles contra barbaros essent tutandi . . . eventum tamen compertum habent Germani pecuniam hanc non in rem fidei . . . sed in propinquorum luxum . . . esse versam. . . . Quo uno bina haec nata sunt . . . incommoda, quod et offendicula orta sunt simplicibus et quod nunc Germani, toties sentientes lusam fidem, nullis rationibus persuaderi se patiuntur ut credant . . . instare cervicibus nostris crudeles Turcas, suspicantes semper prioribus simile quippiam agi. . . .

5. Praeterea Papalis Sanctitas caeterique Episcopi ac Ecclesiae Romanae columnae casus aliquot suae tantum absolutioni reliquos fecerunt; quorum si unum aut alterum commiseris, iam aut numerandum aut absolutione tibi cendum est. Nempe quod in hoc reservati sint, ut vel inde nummorum aliquid eis accrescat. . . .

7. *De praedicatoribus indulgentiarum Stationariis.* Est et aliud indulgentiis vendendis addictum hominum genus, quos Stationarios vulgo vocant. Hi rusticorum . . . abutuntur simplicitate, dum omnes vicos . . . peragrant praedicantes Sancti cuiuspiam . . . sanctimoniam ac quantum ad rem familiarem addat si quotannis hunc vel illum munusculo aliquo, quod eis Stationariis scilicet in commodum cedat, demulceas: inscribentesque dehinc simplices, sub Sancti . . . numen ac tutelam, promittentesque ut hoc aut altero morborum genere vacaturus sit, qui eis annum censum pependerit. . . . Hoc negotium, a sancto Antonio coeptum, in innumera morborum genera dehinc suevit diduci: ita ut vix supersit morbus nunc aliquis cui Stationarii non et peculiarem Sanctum, tanquam tabernae vel negotiationi, praeposuerint. . . .

8. Nec minus et in hoc a religiosis gravantur profani, maxime pauperes . . . , nempe quod mendicitas ordinum Mendicantium nihil in rure neque in urbe sinit non peragratum, dum a terminis quos pervagantur Terminarii dicuntur. . . . Itaque rogant . . . Imperii Principes . . . quatenus S. S. . . gravamina haec indulgentiarum, dispensationum, stationariorum terminariorumque e medio tollere . . . velit, ne libertas Christiana servitute humanarum constitutionum penitus exstinguatur, illaqueanturque conscientiae Christi fidelium mandatis hominum, quibus nullum est peccatum maius quam nummis carere.

hoc adimatur . . . : ac interim hoc praetexitur a sede Apostolica quasi praeventioni hac in re sit locus, ut qui prior beneficium illud contulerit quod haec teneat collatio; licet patroni tempus quoddam habeant intra cuius metas beneficia sua libere et a nemine praeventi conferre possint: eam ob rem patronis . . . ex fictitia hac praeventione multa oritur iactura. Quapropter S. R. I. Status Sanctitatem Apostolicam rogitant ut talia gravamina . . . aboleantur, et posthac beneficia vacatura suo quaeque patrono relinquantur. . . .

15. *De ecclesiasticis qui Romae, vel inter eundum Romam, mortem oppetunt.* Item, et tum Curtisanis . . . vacantia collata sunt officia et beneficia, cum familiares Sanctitatis Suae aut qui Curiae servirent, vel in anno quod vocant Iubilaeo inter eundum Romam aut etiam Romae agentes mortem oppetiissent; tamquam si beneficia haec Sedi Apostolicae essent commissa, recte atque feudorum collatio committitur. Nec consideratur . . . talia beneficia . . . de iure patronatus sint necne: per quod . . . patroni feudarii denuo etiam iure suo patronatus . . . privati sunt. . . .

17. *Quo pacto sub praetextu familiaritatis Papalis curiae . . . beneficiorum per curtisanos impugnetur collatio.* . . . Nec minus et illud suetum hucusque fuit ut . . . quorundam magni pensi beneficiorum sub nomine . . . familiarium Papae et curiae . . . per idiotas et alioqui inhabiles personas sit impugnata collatio, ac per illos conatum . . . ut beneficia haec in Commendas seu Provisiones (ita enim ipsi vocant) vertere, ac censibus annuis obnoxia reddere queant: hinc praetendentes regressus, reservationes, pensiones . . . sibi in his competere. Quibus . . . dolis . . . beneficia illa penitus exsuguntur . . . cum perpetuo Romanae Curiae pensionibus annuis serviunt. . . .

18. Item, obviam veniunt et tum Germanis non ferenda a Curtisanis onera. Ita enim per Germaniam subtili ingenio venantur ut conentur viris Presbyteris aetate et integritate vitae spectabilibus qui beneficia sua . . . multos iam annos quiete possederant . . . possessionem inturbare ad Romanam Curiam personaliter ut compareant, in ius vocare ac mille aliis artibus ita eos adigere ut transactiones quantumvis iniquas inire necessum habeant, modo supremos hos annos quiete agere velint. Coguntur enim hoc . . . modo a Curtisanis ad pensiones annuas, reservata et id genus alias praestationes. Atque hoc agunt Curtisani nebulones non propria, ut ferunt, auctoritate, sed Romanorum suorum statutorum ac regularum quas vocant Cancellariae.

21. *De Ecclesiasticis beneficiis, curatis et non curatis, in*

genere. Nec minus et illud in Romana Curia hucusque observatum est ut gratiae et reservationes pectorales . . . regressus, accessus, incorporationes, uniones et concordata, quod suis vocant excogitatis nominibus, ob pecuniae et privati lucri amorem, super beneficiis . . . praesertim per Germaniam Curtisanis a sede Romana concederentur. Neque hoc contentus fuit habendi sceleratus amor quin et ea ipsa beneficia . . . societatibus mercatorum potentum aere, cum onere census mediocris sed ita ut dehinc latius venderentur, conceduntur. Qua subtili . . . techna factum est quod . . . pinguium beneficiorum . . . magna . . . portio ex Germanorum manu Romam est translata: quae beneficia hinc idiotis inidoneis ac inhonestis etiam personis non raro sunt collata . . . qui Germanam linguam neque loquantur neque intelligant . . . Quapropter S. R. I. Status obnixè rogant ut . . . beneficia per Germaniam nemini quam natis Germanis qui personaliter ea possideant . . . posthac conferantur. . .

22. *Quibus nexibus Archiepiscopi ac Episcopi a suis Capitulis ob collationem beneficiorum sint astricti.* Nec tantum beneficia . . . Romae . . . indoctis . . . conferuntur personis; sed et simile quiddam ab Archiepiscopis et Episcopis committitur qui per eorum Capitulares congregationes ita obligantur ut omnia praepinguia beneficia, curata ac non curata, . . . Capitularibus Canonicis, utcumque ad hoc inidoneis, conferre necessum habeant; qui dehinc talia beneficia . . . indoctis ac ludicris personis, modo . . . pendeant censum annuum, elocant, aequè atque supra de mercatorum societatibus dictum est. . .

23. . . . Ea propter S. R. I. Status, &c., supplicant. . .

24. *De Praelaturarum commendis, ut vocant, et incorporationibus.* Item et illud hucusque notorie observatum fuit, ut Abbatiae . . . Coenobia . . . seu ecclesiasticarum personarum congregationes, foundationes scilicet Imperatoriae ac Principales, Cardinalibus &c. in tutelam commendarentur incorporarenturque. Quare factum est ut per Cardinales . . . illos . . . ita sint attenuata . . . quod cum antehac in uno illorum monasteriorum quadraginta, quinquaginta aut ultra hoc etiam personae . . . potuerunt foveri, ut nunc aegre quinque, sex, aut decem necessariis provideri possint alimentis. Quae res omnis in privata . . . commoda Cardinalium est excogitata. Ideoque . . . supplicatur . . . ne cuiquam tales Commendae . . . concedantur.

25. *De collegiatis ecclesiis, quae super Nobilibus tantum fundatae sunt.* Insuper licet quaedam sint Collegiatae Ecclesiae per Germaniam quae a Nobilibus et in hoc ut Nobiles tantum . . . ad eas reciperentur primum sunt fundatae, in

quibus perdiutinae . . . consuetudinis privilegium est ut tantum . . . Nobiles acceptari . . . debeant: attamen . . . hae consuetudines . . . nequaquam curantur, sed e regione agitur per Curtisanos, ad liberae electionis episcoporum . . . praepeditionem, ut coadiutores alioqui contra Capitularium voluntatem . . . efficiantur. Nec raro Curtisanis, licet indoctis et ignobilibus, parantur ad canonicatus huiusmodi accessus, non obstantibus . . . privilegiis praescriptis; ita quod Nobilibus Germanis beneficia subtrahantur. . . . Quae res ipsa . . . Nobilibus Germaniae . . . in magnum cedit . . . gravaminum cumulum.

26. . . . Ea propter rogant S. R. I. Status . . . unumquemque cum suis privilegiis defendendum. . . .

27. *De Annatis.* Quantum ad annatas . . . attinet, quas . . . Praelati Romano Pontifici quotannis pendunt, quasque ante aliquot annos Germani Principes Sedi Romano sub certis usque annorum metis, eo tamen modo persolverentur, consenserunt quo pecunia haec ad nihil aliud quam contra Turcas parandam defensionem, Romae tanquam deposita, fideliter adservaretur. Verum, cum anni . . . iam olim effluerint, ac annatas depensas non contra Turcas sed alio experientia Germani Principes didicerint versas: ea propter . . . supplicatur id quod in responsione generali Oratori Pontificio data . . . liquido magis reperitur. . . .

28. *De contributione Ecclesiasticorum.* . . . Item, postquam laicorum Imperii Statuum maiores Ecclesias, Monasteria . . . per Germaniam . . . ita . . . dotarunt . . . quod iam laici ipsi vix tertiam aut quartam partes in bonis temporalibus possident, atque ob eam causam necessitati tam ecclesiasticorum quam laicorum sublevandae . . . prae rerum inopia vires minus suppetunt: ideo . . . exigit necessitas . . . quod Sanctitas Pontificia ita . . . rem temperet ut ecclesiastici etiam, tanquam qui ampliores possident divitias, nedum contra Turcas ad ferendum opem teneantur . . . sed ad tuendum ius publicum . . . quotannis pecuniae quippiam contribuendum. . . .

31. *Ut personae ecclesiasticae ob perpetrata maleficia commeritam nullam luant poenam.* Item, quicumque ecclesiasticos recipit ordines, maiores seu minores, per hoc omnium poenarum magistratuum saecularium, utcumque magna perpetret maleficia, immunis esse contendit. Neque hoc ita ordinati temere praesumunt: quod ab ecclesiasticis summae conditionis statibus in peccandi hac licentia manuteneantur. Saepenumero enim compertum est ut quum . . . sacerdotibus . . . legitimae uxores sint interdictae, quod dehinc pudicitiam matronarum, virgi-

num . . . attentant. . . Efficiunt quoque . . . partim . . . donis ac blanditiis, ut complures honestae aliqui virgines et matronae, partim in secretis quas vocant confessionibus, . . . ad peccata . . . commoveantur. Nec raro etiam evenit ut ii uxores ac filias maritis patribusque detineant; . . . atque tantorum malorum segetem ex libidine insana contrahunt. Mirum quid latrociniiis, homicidiis . . . impune quotidie committant, nempe immunitate ac peccandi sua licentia quam ex privilegiis canonum sibi usurparunt, in hoc freti. . . Et tandem, ut in maleficiis perpetrandis magis adhuc foveantur, praeter omnem aequitatis rationem, . . . interdictum est . . . episcopis ne malefactores hos publice criminali iudicio reos agere possint, nisi prius degradatos: id quod tantis sumptibus . . . celebrari oportet ut propterea perquam rarissimum uncti illi malefactores merita plectantur poena. Ad haec adstringuntur . . . episcopi per sua capitula ut personas in sacris ordinibus . . . constitutas, secundum canonica etiam iura, poenis utcunque levibus, punire . . . non audeant. Quae res tota eo spectat ut, ex disparitate hac, inter laicos ac ecclesiasticos . . . odia plus quam Vatiniana oriantur.

33. Quapropter necessitas aequitasque ipsa sibi postulant ut ecclesiasticarum personarum praedicta . . . privilegia abrogentur . . . ac . . . statuatur quod ordinati . . . una cum . . . laicis aequa habeant iura, aequos iudices, paresque poenas: ita . . . ut quisque delinquentium ecclesiasticorum . . . non secus atque alii malefactores poena a iure communi Imperii imposita . . . puniri . . . debeat.

34. *De onere Banni seu Excommunicationis.* Item, Romae cacterisque in locis per . . . episcopos aut certe eorum ecclesiasticos iudices, multi Christianorum ob causas profanas, ob pecuniae . . . amorem excommunicantur; multorumque . . . conscientiae per hoc . . . in desperationem pertrahuntur; ac denique . . . ad interneccionem usque animae, corporis, honoris atque rei familiaris . . . perducuntur. Quando nemo nisi ob convictum haereseos crimen excommunicationis gladio feriendus . . . propter S. R. I. Principes . . . rogant ut Pontificia Sanctitas . . . velit praefatum onus Banni . . . penitus abolere, et denique ita sancire . . . ut nemo ullam ob causam quam . . . convictum haereseos crimen . . . excommunicationis fulmine feriat. . .

37. *De abrogatione feriatarum aliquot dierum.* Insuper et feriarum festorumque dierum tanta copia laicorum vulgus . . . urgetur. Nimirum, cum tot religiosi facti sint dies, ut vix aegre tempus agricolis suppetat quo fructus agri . . . in horrea conferant; quos tamen fructus, si non feriarum solem-

nibus praepediti forent, commode . . . legere . . . potuissent. Adde quod feriatis quoque diebus, qui dubio procul bono consilio ac in Dei Opt. Max. honorem primum bene sunt feriat, innumera perpetrantur delicta . . . potius quam his Omnipotens colatur, . . . Eamque ob causam S. R. I. Status laici consultius putant, si effrenis feriarum . . . festorumque dierum numerus paulo coerceatur. . . .

39. *De oneribus S. R. I. Statuum laicorum contra Archiepiscopos, Episcopos caeterosque Praelatos ecclesiasticos, eorum quoque Capitula ac . . . Iudices ecclesiasticos* [cf. §§ 39-85].

86. *De non ferendis ultra oneribus quibus misera plebs pro sacramentorum administratione gravatur.* Pleraque item parochiales ecclesiae monasteriis etc. incorporationis . . . iure subditae sunt, quas . . . tam enormibus absentiarum pensionibus . . . onerant ut conductitii isti parochi eorumque vicarii . . . competentem sustentationem . . . inde habere nequeant. Quo fit . . . ut illicitis exactionibus locatas sibi oviculas misere . . . dilanient. Postquam enim altaris baptismique sacramenta administranda sunt, primus, septimus, tricesimus, anniversariusque dies peragendus, auricularis confessio audienda, mortui sepe liendi, et quicquid denique reliquum est quod ad vita functorum ceremonias observandas operae pretium arbitrantur, id gratuito faciunt nequaquam sed tantum exigunt . . . quantum misera plebecula vel cum summo suo dispendio praestare . . . potest.

87. *Ut ob Missas . . . legendas, pecuniam exigant.* Neque hoc praeteriri potest . . . quod sacerdotes unius diei missas, ad quas alias foundationis . . . iure celebrandas obligantur, non semel sed . . . quinquies pluriesve venundant: unaque missa duobus, tribus aut pluribus ecclesiasticis beneficiis satisfacere praesumunt.

90. *Ut plerique ecclesiastici vitam laicam planeque rixosam agant.* Nec minus etiam Germanis molestum est, quod potior parochorum, sacerdotum, monachorum . . . pars in diversoriis, stabulis ac choreis, populorum turbis se immiscent; in plateis item habitu minus decenti, utputa gladiis, vestibusque ludicris; praeterea rixis . . . laicos ad iram et consequenter ad arma provocant. . . . Dein excommunicationis fulmine . . . eousque divexant quousque . . . laici se cum his composuerint.

91. Item . . . episcopi . . . non solum sacerdotum tolerant concubinatum, dummodo certa persolvatur pecunia, sed et sacerdotes continentes . . . concubinatus censum persolvere cogunt; asserentes episcopum pecuniae indigum esse, qua soluta licere sacerdotibus ut vel coelibes permaneant vel concubinas alant. . . . Quam res haec sit nefanda, nemo non intelligit.

93. *Quomodo ecclesiastici moribundis, ut suos et legitimos haeredes defraudent, persuadeant.* . . . Regionum pervagatores, quos vulgo Terminarios vel Stationarios vocant; . . . infirmos . . . ac praesertim eos quibus aes esse in cista norunt . . . blandiloquentia . . . eo adducunt quod sibi potioem . . . partem in testamentis legant.

100. *Peroratio.* . . . Quod si enumerata . . . gravamina . . . abrogata non fuerint, S. R. I. Status laici Sanctitatem Pontificiam latere nolunt, praedicta . . . onera . . . diutius eos neque perferre velle neque tolerare posse: sed . . . huc eos adigi . . . de aliis . . . mediis cogitandi . . . quibus tandem modis qua arte, qua denique solertia onerum atque gravaminum supra memoratorum ab ecclesiasticis . . . liberari . . . possint.

Quemadmodum omnia haec, priusquam . . . Legatus a Normberga solvisset, eidem . . . ad longum sunt . . . enumerata; essentque . . . ferenda secum Romam tradita, si non, praeter omnium expectationem, abitionem suam hinc tantopere maturasset ac inopinato ita discessisset. Verum, ne ob id eo magis Germanorum . . . conclusio Sanct^{ae} . . . Pont^{ificis} latere posset, tandem placuit . . . gravamina . . . per capita ac sigillatim ita scripta Sanct^{ae} Pont^{ificis} transmittere eandemque . . . pro abrogandis hisce oneribus . . . obsecrare ne deteriora contingant.

No. 62. The Imperial Edict, 6 March, 1523.

[§ 13] Proinde serio vobis omnibus ac singulis, et in primis auctoritate Caesariae M^{ajestatis}, hoc publico edicto mandamus et volumus ut vos Ordines Imperii Romani omnes et quisque pro se in suo territorio curet ac prospiciat ut intra tempus futuri Concilii tantummodo sacrum Evangelium, iuxta interpretationem Scripturae ab Ecclesia Christiana iam approbatae et receptae, praedicetur ac doceatur. . . .

XXIV

THE NEW ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM, 1523-4

By 1523 the growth of Lutheran communities had raised the question of the supply of pastors; the disuse of Private Masses, that of provision for their support; the changes in worship, proposed by Carlstadt and resisted by Luther, that of liturgical readjustment. All three questions now received attention. On 11 March 1523 [No. 63] Luther gave notice of the substitution of weekly for daily Mass (quoted in Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i. 398 n. 6). About the same time regulations were prepared with his advice for [No. 64] the maintenance of the clergy at Leisnig (E. Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, I. i.

598 sqq.: cf. de Wette, ii. 379 sqq.), and at Easter he put out a treatise contending *That a Christian congregation or community (Gemeinde) has the right . . . to . . . appoint and remove teachers* for itself apart from the bishop (*Werke*, xxii. 140 sqq., ed. Erlangen, 1826-57). This was to anticipate counsel which in his [No. 65] *De instituendis ministris* (*Op. Lat.* vi. 494 sqq.), he had given, by Nov. (*ibid.* 492 n. 1), to the Bohemian Utraquists, to forgo their requirement of 'episcopal ordination' and 'choose their pastors themselves' (Ranke, *Reformation*, 459). At Whitsuntide appeared his essay *On the order of divine service in the congregation* (*Werke*, xxii. 151 sqq., ed. Erlangen) with its challenge to 'omit everything rather than the Word' (156): and this was followed in December by [No. 66] the *Formula Missae et Communionis* (*Op. Lat.* vii. 1 sqq.), addressed to Nicholas Hausmann, pastor of Zwickau, 1521-32. Here he touched upon the need of German hymns (*ibid.* 16), and proceeded to meet it by contributing to the earliest evangelical hymn-books of 1524. To the *Wittenberger Achtliederbuch* he contributed four hymns, to the *Erfurter Enchiridion* eighteen out of twenty-five, and to the *Chorgesangbüchlein* twenty-four out of thirty-two. Of his thirty-six hymns twenty-four are traced to 1523-4: the most famous [No. 67], *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*, to 1527 (tr. Carlyle, *Essays*, iii. 82 ed. 1872). On this reconstruction see Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, ii. 1-112: Rietschel, *op. cit.* i. 396 sqq., and Kidd, *Cont. Ref.*, 42 sqq.

No. 63. Luther's notice of the substitution of weekly for daily Mass, 11 March, 1523.

Post hunc sermonem locutus est de missa abroganda, ne scilicet singulis diebus haberetur missa sed solum dominicis, nisi quispiam participare velit mensae Domini in septima, tunc celebrandam missam dicebat. Item addidit de ordinatione servanda ut clerus et scholastici singulis diebus convenirent duas horas mane et vesperi, ut mane liber Novi Testamenti legeretur ac interpretaretur, vesperi Veteris Testamenti; sed hoc se nolle incipere aiebat sed tantum proponere.

No. 64. Ordinance for a Common Chest at Leisnig.

A resolution how to deal with spiritual goods, 1523.

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Amen.

We, the honourable men, council, aldermen, nobles, and commons of the town and parish of Leisnig, with its dependent villages. Whereas, through the grace of Almighty God and the revelation of the Christian evangelical Scriptures, we have received not only a firm faith but a sure knowledge that all the inward and outward resources of believers should serve to the honour of God and the love of our neighbour, we give notice

that, for ourselves and our posterity, we have resolved to maintain the following brotherly compacts in our community, viz. :—

I. Of appointments to the Pastorate.

We will and shall always exercise our Christian freedom, so far as concerns the appointment to our common pastorate and the call, election, admission, and dismissal of our common minister, for the sole preaching of God's word and dispensing of the sacraments, never otherwise than according to the disposition and order of divine Scripture. . . .

II. Of the means, provision, and receipts of the Common Chest. In order that our Christian faith, in which all goods temporal and eternal are gotten and given us by the eternal God through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, may bear its proper fruit in brotherly love . . . we, the above-named common assembly of the parish, . . . have resolved to set up and maintain a Common Chest forthwith . . . in intention, manner, and form, as follows :—

For the furnishing and provision of the common chest shall the following items, rents, goods, privileges, moneys, and possessions be everywhere collected together, to be and remain perpetually united.

[i] Receipts from the goods and privileges of the Benefice.

All the goods, privileges, fees-simple, quit-rents, rents, hereditaments, houses, yards, gardens, lands, meadows, stock, and chattels, without exception, belonging anywhere to the office of pastor and minister here among us . . . which we, the common assembly of the parish, in behalf of our common pastorate, have a reserved right to acquire, according to the tenor of the arrangement and decision therein between the abbey of Buch and us . . . , these as being available for our Common Chest, as also all that belongs to the school and the sacristy, we have paid into it.

[ii] Receipts from the goods and privileges of the Church.

All the goods, privileges, &c. . . . , bridge-tolls, plate, jewels, &c. . . . belonging to our church shall, in their entirety, along with the written title-deeds, inventories, and registers concerning them, be gathered into and remain in the Common Chest.

[iii] Receipts from the goods and privileges of the four Altar endowments and other foundations.

The four altar-endowments in our church shall, as soon as the present chantry-priests die or the existing endowments are vacated, be no longer bestowed ; but the four houses, together with the goods, rents, revenues, commodities, plate, &c.,

thereto belonging, shall be brought into the Common Chest ; and further all celebrations, years' minds, Indulgence-weeks or octaves, and other several foundations and alms, for the hospital or elsewhere, shall all be paid into the Common Chest.

V. *Of disbursements and discharges from the Common Chest.*

Herein we, the parish assembly and our successors, will and shall provide for ourselves out of our common chest, through our ten elected managers (so far as our means with God's grace will permit), and arrange for disbursements, according to need, as follows :—

[i] Disbursements for the Pastorate.

Our common minister or pastor, together with our elected preacher appointed to assist him . . . and a chaplain besides, if need so require, shall be provided by the ten managers, according to the unanimous resolution of the whole assembly, with a specified sum of money, sundry means of support, and profits of lands and goods annually throughout the year, in quarterly instalments, payable at the quarter . . . to be handed to them, in return for the proper receipt, out of the common chest. With such salaries, supplies, profits, and maintenance they are to be content, and shall in no wise seek or receive anything further from their parishioners, unsought free-will offerings and gifts excepted. . . .

No. 65. Luther's *De instituendis ministris*,
Nov. 1523.

[1] *Protestatio.* Inprimis libere confiteor si qui sunt qui ex me sperant ritum ac morem hactenus servatum in radendis et ungendis sacerdotibus tradendum aut emendandum esse, nihil ad eos pertinere quae hoc libello dicturus sum ; sinam illos sua frui religione vel superstitione, utcunque vulgata et ex antiquis accepta et iactata. Nos puram et germanam divinis literis praescriptam rationem quaerimus, parum solliciti quid usus, quid Patres in hac re vel dederint vel fecerint, cum iam olim satis docuerimus nos debere . . . traditionibus humanis . . . non modo non servire, sed plane pro nostro arbitrio et libertate Christiana dominari. . . .

[2] *Dehortatio a suscipiendis ordinibus papisticis.* . . . Donabo interim hoc ordinibus papisticis quod solius episcopi auctoritate unguntur et instituuntur quos vocant sacerdotes, consensu aut suffragio populi, cui praeficiendi sunt, neque requisito neque obtento. . . . Denique maior pars solum ad beneficia (ut vo-

cant) ordinatur, solas missas sacrificaturi. . . . Donabo inquam hoc pessimum monstrum ordinibus papisticis usque in suum tempus.

Hoc merito exhorreere debet quisquis Christum amat et quidvis potius pati quam ordinari sese a papistis, quod omnia in istis ordinibus summa . . . perversitate geruntur. . . . Nam cum ista ordinatio auctoritate Scripturarum . . . in hoc sit instituta ut ministros verbi in populo institueret, ministerium publicum, inquam, verbi quo dispensantur mysteria Dei, per sacram ordinationem institui debet . . . cum sine verbo nihil constet in ecclesia et per solum verbum omnia constant. Papistae autem mei de hoc ministerio ne somniant quidem in suis ordinibus. . . . Loco ministrorum verbi ordinant sacrificulos, qui missas sacrificent et confessiones audiant. Hoc enim vult episcopus dum calicem dat in manum et confert potestatem consecrandi et sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis. . . . Item cum illis . . . spiritum in aures inflat et confessores facit, dicens, 'Accipe Spiritum sanctum.' Haec est illa potestas consecrandi et absolvendi gloriosissima. . . .

At cum certissimum sit missam non esse sacrificium, deinde confessionem eam, quam praeceptam volunt, nullam esse, utrumque autem sit humanum et sacrilegum inventum et mendacium, plane sequitur per ordines illos sacros neminem fieri coram Deo aut sacerdotem aut ministrum. . . . Quare hic fidei conscientia nos urget ut sub anathemate Dei caveamus ab illis ordinari; et plane salutis nostrae cogit ratio necessario ab illorum execratis et damnatis ordinibus abstinere. . . .

[3] *Sacerdotem non esse quod presbyterum vel ministrum: illum nasci, hunc fieri.* Atque hic primum constanti fide est opus . . . Stet itaque primum tibi rupes illa inconcussa, in Novo Testamento sacerdotem externe unctum nullum esse nec esse posse; si qui autem sunt, larvae et idola sunt. . . . Sacerdos enim . . . non fit, sed nascitur; non ordinatur, sed creatur. Nascitur vero non carnis sed Spiritus nativitate, nempe ex aqua et Spiritu in lavacro regenerationis, suntque prorsus omnes Christiani sacerdotes et omnes sacerdotes sunt Christiani.

Sed pergamus, et idem ex officiis sacerdotalibus (quae vocant) probemus, omnes Christianos ex aequo sunt sacerdotes. Nam illud 1 Pet. ii. [9] et Apoc. v. [10] satis iam aliis libris inculcavi. Sunt autem sacerdotalia officia ferme haec: docere, praedicare annunciareque verbum Dei, baptizare, consecrare seu Eucharistiam ministrare, ligare et solvere peccata, orare pro aliis, sacrificare, et iudicare de omnium doctrinis et spiritibus. . . .

Verum haec omnia de iure communi Christianorum diximus : nam cum omnium Christianorum haec sint omnia (uti probavimus¹) communia, nulli licet in medium prodire auctoritate propria et sibi arripere soli, quod omnium est. . . . Verum haec communio iuris cogit ut unus aut quotquot placuerint communitati eligantur vel acceptentur qui vice et nomine omnium qui idem iuris habent exsequatur officia ista publice, ne turpis sit confusio in populo Dei et Babylon quaedam fiat in ecclesia. . . . Aliud enim est ius publice exsequi, aliud iure in necessitate uti : publice exsequi non licet, nisi consensu universitatis seu ecclesiae, in necessitate utatur quicunque voluerit. . . .

Ex his omnibus credo confirmatum esse eos qui sacramentis et verbo inter populos praesunt, non posse nec debere sacerdotes vocari. Quod autem sacerdotes vocantur, id vel ex gentilium ritu vel ex Iudaicae gentis reliquiis sumptum est. . . . Ceterum iuxta evangelicas literas Ministri, Diaconi, Episcopi, Dispensatores rectius nominarentur, qui et ob aetatem Presbyteri saepius vocantur. Sic enim Paulus 1 Cor. iv. [1] dicit : ' Sic nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei ' ; non ait, ' ut sacerdotes Christi, ' quod nomen sacerdotis et officium sciret omnibus esse commune. . . .

Quod si ministri tantum sunt, iam perit ille character indelibilis, et aeternitas illa sacerdotii nulla nisi ficta est ; sed deponi minister potest, si fidelis esse desinat, rursum ferri in ministerio, donec vel meruerit vel universitati ecclesiae placuerit, sicut quivis alius civilium rerum inter fratres aequales administrator. . . .

His . . . fidelissimis . . . Scripturae firmamentis (si verbis Dei credimus) superata est misera illa necessitas quae Boemiam hactenus coegit mendicare rasum sacerdotium ac indignissimos quosque ferre. Nam hic luce clarius . . . habemus, unde petendi sint sacerdotes seu ministri verbi, scilicet ex ipso grege Christi, ac nusquam alibi. Nam ubi id monstratum est evidenter, habere unumquemque ius ministrandi verbi, imo praeceptum, si viderit vel deesse qui doceant vel non recte docere qui adsunt, ut 1 Cor. xiv, Paulus statuit, quo virtus Dei annuncietur per nos omnes. Quomodo non multo magis ius ac praeceptum habebit tota aliqua universitas, id officii communibus suffragiis alicui uni vel pluribus vice sua committere, et illi deinceps aliis, accedentibus eisdem suffragiis ? . . .

Sed et necessitas ita cogit et communis sensus fidei suadet. Nam cum ecclesia verbo Dei . . . alatur, palam est eam sine

¹ *Op. Lat.* vi. 509-23.

verbo esse non posse, aut si sine verbo sit, ecclesiam esse desinere. Deinde cum quilibet sit ad verbi ministerium natus e baptismo et episcopi papales nolint dare verbi ministros . . . reliquum est aut permittere ecclesiam Dei perire sine verbo aut oportere, conventu facto, communibus suffragiis ex suo gremio eligere unum vel quotquot opus fuerit idoneos et orationibus ac manuum impositionibus universitati commendare et confirmare, atque eos tum pro legitimis episcopis et ministris verbi agnoscere et colere, indubitata fide credendo a Deo gestum et factum esse quod hac ratione gesserit et fecerit consensus communis fidelium, Evangelium agnoscentium ac profitentium. . . .

Sic ergo faciat. . . . Convocatis et convenientibus libere quorum corda Deus tetigerit, ut vobiscum idem sentiant et sapiant, procedatis in nomine Domini, et eligite quem et quos volueritis, qui digni et idonei visi fuerint : tum impositis super eos manibus illorum qui potiores inter vos fuerint, confirmetis et commendetis eos . . . ecclesiae . . . sintque hoc ipso vestri Episcopi, Ministri, seu Pastores. Amen. . . .

No. 66. Luther's Formula Missae et Communionis, Dec. 1523.

. . . In primis itaque profiteamur non esse nec fuisse in animo nostro omnem cultum Dei prorsus abolere, sed eum qui in usu est, pessimis additamentis vitiatum, repurgare et usum pium monstrare. Nam hoc negare non possumus Missas et Communionem panis et vini ritum esse a Christo divinitus institutum. . . .

At ubi licentia fiebat addendi et mutandi, prout cuivis libebat, accedente tum et quaeustus et ambitionis sacerdotalis tyrannide, tum coeperunt altaria illa et insignia Baal et omnium deorum poni in templum Domini per impios reges nostros, i. e. episcopos. Hic sustulit impius Abas altare aereum et constituit aliud e Damasco petatum, loquor autem de Canone illo lacero et abominabili, ex multorum lacunis ceu sentina collecto. Ibi coepit Missa fieri sacrificium, ibi addita Offertoria et Collectae mercenariae, ibi Sequentiae et Prosae. . . . Tum coepit Missa esse monopolium sacerdotale, totius mundi opes exhauriens, divites, otiosos, potentes et voluptuarios et immundos illos coelibes toto orbe ceu vastitatem ultimam exundans. Hinc Missae pro defunctis, pro itineribus, pro opibus, et quis illos titulos solos numeret, quorum Missa facta est sacrificium ? . . . Additamenta externa vestium, vasorum, cereorum, pallarum,

deinde organorum et totius musicae, imaginum, quid dicam? Nihil paene fuit in toto orbe artificiorum quod non magna ex parte sua negotia ac quaestum suum haberet et e Missa aleretur.

Transierint itaque ista et adhuc transeant revelante Evangelio abominabiles tantas, donec penitus aboleantur. Nos interim omnia probabimus, quod bonum est tenebimus. . . .

Primo, *Introitus* dominicales et in festis Christi, nempe Paschatis, Pentecostes, Nativitatis probamus et servamus: quanquam Psalmos malleamus, unde sumpti sunt, ut olim. . . . Nos Wittenbergae solis dominicis et festis Domini sabbatizare quaeremus; omnium Sanctorum festa prorsus abroganda. . . . probamus Festum Purificationis et Annunciationis pro festis Christi, sicut Epiphania et Circumcisionem habemus. . . . Festa S. Crucis anathema sunt. Alii faciant pro sua conscientia vel aliorum infirmitate, quod Spiritus suggesserit.

Secundo, *Kyrie eleison*, ut hactenus celebratum est . . . ampleximur cum sequenti hymno angelico *Gloria in excelsis*. . . .

Tertio, sequens *Oratio* illa seu *Collecta*, modo sit pia (ut fere sunt quae dominicis diebus habentur) perseveret ritu suo, sed ea duntaxat unica. Post hanc lectio *Epistolae*. Verum nondum tempus est et hic novandi, quando nulla impia legitur. Alioqui cum raro eae partes ex epistolis Pauli lègantur, in quibus fides docetur, sed potissimum morales et exhortatoriae, ut ordinator ille Epistolarum videatur fuisse insigniter indoctus et superstitiosus operum ponderator, officium requirebat eas potius . . . ordinare quibus fides in Christum docetur. . . . Interim supplebit hoc vernacula Concio. Alioqui si futurum est ut vernacula Missa habeatur (quod Christus faveat) danda est opera ut Epistolae et Evangelia suis optinatis et potioribus locis legantur in Missa.

Quarto, *Graduale* duorum versuum simul cum *Alleluia* vel alterutrum . . . cantetur. . . .

Quinto, *Sequentias* et *Proxas* nullas admittimus, nisi . . . placuerit illa brevis in Nativitate Christi: 'Grates nunc omnes' . . . nisi illae de Spiritu sancto: 'Sancti spiritus' et 'Veni, sancte Spiritus'. . . .

Sexto, sequitur *Evangelii* lectio, ubi nec candelas neque thurificationem prohibemus, sed nec exigimus: esto hoc liberum.

Septimo, *Symbolum Nicenum* cantari solitum non displicet. . . . Idem de vernacula *Concione* sentimus, ut nihil referat sive hic post Symbolum¹ sive ante Introitum Missae fiat. . . .

¹ Luther preached, in the Parish Church of Wittenberg, after the Creed.

Octavo, sequitur tota illa abominatio cui servire coactum est quicquid in Missa praecessit, unde et *Offertorium* vocatur. Et hinc omnia fere sonant et olent oblationem.¹ In quorum medio verba illa vitae et salutis² sic posita sunt ceu olim arca Domini in templo idolorum iuxta Dagon, . . . Proinde omnibus illis repudiatis quae oblationem sonant, cum universo *Canone*, retineamus quae pura et sancta sunt, ac sic Missam nostram ordiamur :—

(1) Sub *Symbolo* vel post *Canonem* [v. l. *Concionem*] appareatur panis et vinum ad benedictionem ritu solito, nisi quod non constitui mecum miscendane sit aqua vino, quanquam huc inclino ut merum potius vinum paretur absque aquae mixtura. . . . Merum vinum enim pulchre figurat puritatem doctrinae Evangelicae. . . . Tamen contra libertatem non introducā legem superstitiosam. . . .

(2) Apparato pane et vino mox procedatur ad hunc modum : 'Dominus vobiscum,' R. 'Et cum spiritu tuo.' 'Sursum corda,' R. 'Habeamus ad Dominum.' 'Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro,' R. 'Dignum et iustum est.' 'Vere dignum,' &c.² . . . 'per Christum Dominum nostrum.' Deinde :

(3) 'Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem, gratias agens, fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens : "Accipite, comedite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur." Similiter et calicem, postquam coenavit, dicens : "Hic calix est Novi Testamenti in meo sanguine qui pro vobis et pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Haec quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam faciat." ' Haec verba Christi velim . . . in eo tono vocis recitari quo canitur alias oratio dominica in *Canone*, ut a circumstantibus possit audiri, quanquam in his omnibus libertas sit piis mentibus, vel silenter vel palam ea verba recitare.

(4) Finita benedictione, chorus cantet *Sanctus*, et sub cantu *Benedictus* elevetur panis et calix. . . .

(5) Post haec legatur *Oratio Dominica* sic : 'Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti,' &c. omissa oratione sequenti 'Libera,' &c., cum omnibus signis quae fieri solent super hostiam et cum hostia super calicem, nec frangatur hostia, nec in calicem misceatur. Sed statim post Orationem Dominicam dicatur 'Pax Domini,' &c., quae est publica quaedam absolutio a peccatis communicantium, vox plane

¹ The Words of Institution.

² Omitting, i. e., Proper Prefaces, Sanctus, Benedictus, and, in the Canon, 'Te igitur. . . . Quam oblationem.'

evangelica, annuncians remissionem peccatorum, unica illa et dignissima ad mensam Domini praeparatio, si fide apprehendatur non secus atque ex ore Christi prolata. Unde vellem eam nunciari verso ad populum vultu, quemadmodum solent Episcopi, quod unicuique est vestigium Episcoporum priscorum in nostris Episcopis.

(6) Deinde communicet tum sese, tum populum: interim cantetur *Agnus Dei*. . . .

(7) Si *Communione* cantari libet, cantetur. Sed loco complendae seu ultimae collectae,¹ quia fere sacrificium sonant, legatur in eodem tono oratio illa 'Quod ore sumpsimus,' &c. . . .

(8) Benedictio solita detur, vel accipiatur illa Num. vi. . . .

Sic de Missa sentimus, in quibus omnibus cavendum ne legem ex libertate faciamus. . . . Si diversi diverso ritu utantur, nullus alterum vel iudicet vel contemnat, sed unusquisque sensu suo abundet et idem sapiamus ac sentiamus. . . . Externi enim ritus, etsi iis carere non possumus, sicut nec cibo et potu, non tamen nos Deo commendat, sicut nec esca nos Deo commendat. . . . Vestes praeterivimus. Sed de his, ut de aliis ritibus, sentimus. Permittamus illis uti libere, modo pompa et luxus absit.

Haec de Missa . . . dixerimus. Nunc de ritu communicandi populi dicemus, cuius gratia potissimum coena ista Domini instituta est et eo nomine vocatur. . . . Perversissimum est si ministri publicam coenam Domini parent et ornent, ubi nulli sint hospites qui edant et bibant, et ipsi soli qui aliis ministrare debent, in vacua mensa et aula comedant et bibant. Quare si vere Christi institutum amplecti volumus, nulla debet Missa Privata relinqui in ecclesia.

Hic autem servandus est ritus, qui in baptismo servatur, nempe ut episcopo primū significetur qui futuri sint communicantes petantque ipsi coena Domini communicari, ut eorum et nomina et vitam cognoscere queat: deinde petentes non admittat, nisi rationem fidei suae reddiderint, et interrogati responderint an intelligant quid sit coena Domini, quid praestet, quo usu illa velint potiri. . . . Arbitror autem hanc interrogationem . . . sufficere, si semel in anno fiat cum eo qui petit communicari. . . . Deinde, ubi episcopus viderit eos intelligere haec omnia, etiam hoc observabit, an vita et moribus eam fidem et intelligentiam probent. . . .

Deinde ubi Missa celebratur, convenit ut communicaturi seorsum uno loco . . . constent. Ad hoc enim repertum est

¹ 'Placeat tibi, sancta Trinitas,' &c.

altare, repertus est et chorus. Non quod apud Deum aliquid sit hic vel illic stetisse . . . sed quod oporteat eos palam videri et nosci tam ab iis qui communicant quam ab eis qui non communicant, quo deinde eorum vita quoque melius videri et probari et prodi possit. . . .

De confessione vero privata ante communionem sentio, sicut hactenus docui, esse eam scilicet nec necessariam nec exigendam, utilem tamen et non contemnendam. . . .

Sic de praeparatione ad Coenam hanc sapimus, ut liberum sit ieiunio et orationibus sese componere. Sobrios certe oportet adesse et sedulos ac diligentes, ut maxime nihil ieiunes aut parum ores. . . . Nam optima praeparatio est . . . anima peccatis, morte, tentationibus agitata, esuriens et sitiens medelam et robur. . . .

Id nunc reliquum est, an utramque speciem, ut vocant, populo ministrari oporteat? Hic sic dico, postquam evangelium nunc biennio toto apud nos inculcatum est, satis simul indultum . . . est infirmitati. . . . Quare simpliciter iuxta institutum Christi utraque species et petatur et ministretur. . . .

Cantica velim etiam nobis esse vernacula quam plurima, quae populus sub Missa cantaret, vel iuxta *Gradualia*, item iuxta *Sanctus* et *Agnus Dei*. Quis enim dubitat eas olim fuisse voces totius populi quae nunc solus chorus cantat . . .? Sed poetae . . . nobis desunt, aut nondum cogniti sunt qui pias et spirituales cantilenas . . . nobis concinant quae dignae sint in ecclesia frequentari. . . . Haec dico ut si qui sunt poetae Germanici exstimulentur et nobis poemata pietatis componant.

Haec de Missa et Communione pro tempore dicta sint satis. Cetera usus et res ipsa docebunt, modo verbum Dei strenue et fideliter in ecclesia annuncietur. . . .

In reliquis diebus, quas ferias vocamus, nihil video quod non ferri possit, modo Missae abrogentur. Nam Matutinae trium lectionum et Horae, tum Vesperae et Completorium de tempore (exclusis Sanctorum feriis) nihil sunt nisi Scripturae divinae verba. Et pulchrum, imo necessarium, est pueros assuescere legendis et audiendis psalmis et lectionibus Scripturarum sanctorum. Verum si quidquam hic novari debet, prolixitas mutari potest arbitrio episcopi, ut tres psalmi pro Matutinis, tres pro Vesperis cum uno vel duobus Responsoriis absolvantur. . . . Per partes distributum totum Psalterium in usu maneat, et universa Scriptura in lectiones partita perseveret in auribus ecclesiae. . . . Instituendae sunt lectiones quotidianae, altera mane in novo vel veteri Testamento, altera vesperi in altero

Testamento, cum explanatione vernacula . . . more quem Paulus 1 Cor. xiv describit.

Post, successu temporis peioris, cum deficerent prophetae et interpretes, relicta est ista vox sola post lectiones et capitula 'Deo gratias', tum loco interpretationis multiplicatae sunt lectiones, psalmi et hymni et alia in hanc taediosam prolixitatem, quanquam Hymni et 'Te Deum laudamus' aequè id testantur quod 'Deo gratias', scilicet quod post interpretationes et homilias Deum laudarint, et gratias egerint, pro revelata veritate sermonum Dei. Quales et ego vellem fieri nostras vernaculas cantilenas. . . .

No. 67. The beginnings of German Hymnody.

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.

A safe stronghold our God is still,
A trusty shield and weapon;
He'll help us clear from all the ill
That hath us now o'ertaken.
The ancient Prince of Hell
Hath risen with purpose fell;
Strong mail of Craft and Power
He weareth in this hour,
On Earth is not his fellow.

With force of arms we nothing can,
Full soon were we down-ridden;
But for us fights the proper Man,
Whom God himself hath bidden.
Ask ye, Who is this same?
Christ Jesus is His name,
The Lord Zebaoth's Son,
He and no other one
Shall conquer in the battle.

And were this world all Devils o'er,
And watching to devour us,
We lay it not to heart so sore,
Not they can overpower us.
And let the Prince of Ill
Look grim as e'er he will,
He harms us not a whit;
For why? His doom is writ,
A word shall quickly slay him.

God's Word, for all their craft and force,
 One moment will not linger
 But spite of Hell, shall have its course,
 'Tis written by His finger.
 And though they take our life,
 Goods, honour, children, wife,
 Yet is their profit small;
 These things shall vanish all,
 The City of God remaineth.

XXV

THE MISSION OF CAMPEGGIO, 1523-4

On 18 Nov. 1523 Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, cousin of Leo X was elected as Pope Clement VII, 1523-†34. 'He knew the importance of the German revolt' (Creighton, *Hist. Papacy*, vi. 281): and 'Cardinal Campeggio', 1474-†1539, 'was appointed legate in Germany for the Lutheran affairs' (*State Papers, Venetian*, iii, No. 795: 9 Jan. 1524). 'A capable official but not a man of much character' (Creighton, vi. 282: cf. *State Papers, Venetian*, iii, No. 795), he [No. 68] entered Nürnberg, 16 March, according to the united testimony of a friar in his train (*State Papers, Venetian*, iii, No. 813) and of Spalatin (Mencken, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, ii. 633 sq.), without the usual pomp of a Legate and only to find public feeling against him. At the Diet 'Campeggio demanded prompt execution of the Edict of Worms. The Catholics were in a majority: but even among the Estates, who were not a representative body but an assembly of sovereigns, largely ecclesiastic, national feeling ran so strong that the utmost he could secure' (Kidd, *Cont. Ref.* 35) was [No. 69] the Recess of 18 April proposing to enforce the Edict 'as far as possible' and to summon a National Assembly at Speier (Balan, *Mon. Ref. Luth.* 330 sqq.: cf. Pallavicini, *Hist. Conc. Trid.* II. x. 15-18). This was a compromise, which pleased nobody. [No. 70] Campeggio remonstrated with the Diet, but to no effect (Balan, *op. cit.* 332 sqq.; Pallavicini, II. x. 19-23). The [No. 71] Court of Rome had its own remedies (Pallavicini, II. x. 23-27), which were embodied in instructions to the Nuncios for the consideration of the Emperor (Balan, *op. cit.* 339 sqq.). On 18 July [No. 72] Charles wrote to his ambassador at Rome bidding him tell the Pope that (cf. his Edict of 15 July, in *Luthers Schriften*, ed. Walch xv. 2705 sqq.) he had forbidden the 'conventicle' at Speier, but advising a General Council at Trent (*State Papers, Spanish*, ii, No. 662; 18 July 1524). But, meanwhile, Campeggio, who had been authorized, 14 April, to treat with such princes as were well disposed for a 'correctionem morum et reformationem cleri Germaniae' (Balan, *Monumenta Saec. XVI.* 17), had succeeded in applying the old policy of 'Divide et impera' to the national opposition of Germany. For on 7 July, by [No. 73] the League of

Ratisbon, he organized a Papal party within the nation pledged to a plan of conservative reform (Goldasti *Const. Imp.* iii. 487 sqq.), such as afterwards, though too late for the maintenance of German unity, took place at Trent.

No. 68. The entry of Campeggio into Nürnberg, 16 March, 1524.

(1) *From a letter of Friar Paolo Ziani, dated 29 March.*

We arrived at Nuremberg on the Wednesday in Passion Week. In these parts the sincere faith of Christ is utterly cancelled; no respect is paid either to the Virgin Mary or the saints. On the contrary, it is said that those who employ their aid sin mortally. They deride the Papal rites, and call the relics of the saints bones of those who have been hanged. In Lent they eat meat openly, saying they do not consider it prohibited. Confession is neglected, as they say it should be made to God, and that auricular confession is a buffoonery. They generally communicate under both forms. They make a laughing-stock of the Pope and cardinals, and other ambassadorial ecclesiastics, by means of paintings and other caricatures. In short, they consider Martin their illuminator, and that until now they have been in darkness, and the indulgences are held by them like bread sold in the market-place. In proof of all this, the Legate, to avoid scorn, did not enter Nuremberg as Legate *ut moris est*, neither did he give the blessing and absolution, but came in like a mere horseman, though he was accompanied by a most noble escort of all the Princes and part of the nobility, who (with the exception of the Duke of Saxony and Palatine) are sincere Christians. Some of the noblemen and the mass of merchants are all tainted, nay, obstinate and unconvertible, so that at present neither the Legate's authority nor the will of the Princes . . . can stem so strong a current.

Martin is not at Nuremberg, nor will he make his appearance there; but, unless the Almighty stretch forth his arm, it will doubtless come to pass that as the Princes and part of the nobility remain staunch Catholics, whilst the people persist in their errors, they will some day cut each other to pieces. The Legate will remain at Nuremberg until October, perhaps to hold another Diet in Germany, *cum dieta dietam subinvocat*; but in this matter Diets profit little, because the free towns are really not subject to any one, so that they cannot be curbed, and they are the abettors of Lutheranism, especially Nuremberg and Augsburg, the asylums of all converts. In the other towns

belonging to the Princes less open confession is made, but in short all are Lutherans, publicly or secretly.

(2) *From the Annales Spalatini.*

Die xiv Martii postridie Iudica iv & v hora post meridiem Laurentius Campegius Cardin. Ro. Pont. Clementis VII Legatus Nurnbergam ingressus est non habitu Cardinalitio, sed alioqui toga rubra vulgari indutus, neque tectus galero. Sed ne benedixit quidem ut solent plerumque Legati: quod idem facienti Augustae asinum ostendisse dicebantur. Ideo dissuasum est homini, hoc ipsum facere Nurnbergam venientem. . . .

Nurnbergae mandatum omisum, palmae non consecratae, Crucifixi effigies sepulchro non est imposita, nec positum sepulchrum, neque azyma neque ignes consecrati. Sed ne asinus quidem palmarius circumvectus est Nurnbergae: quamvis episcopo Bambergensi,¹ ut loci ordinario, iubente ut nihil antiquae consuetudinis contemneretur. . . .

Osiander² Evangelista Laurentianus Nurnbergae die Coenae Domini illic in arce concionatus, integrum sacramentum sive, ut vulgo loquuntur, sub utraque specie D. Isabellae Reginae Daciae dedit, Regis Christierni exulis coniugi,³ Caroli V. Ro. Imp. Aug. et Ferdinandi sorori. Ferdinandus tum absuit. . . . Ferdinandi uxor concionatore Dominicaastro et altera tum specie usa est. Augustiniani Nurnbergenses die Resurrectionis Dominicae, ut mihi Prior eorum Wolfgangus Volprechtus scripsit, ultra ter mille homines toto sacramento communicarunt. . . . Ex Ferdinandi aulicis plus minus xxx vel xl et ipsi totum sacramentum in Augustino acceperunt. Nonnulli etiam ex Regimine Imper. Nurnbergae sub utraque specie communi carunt.

No. 69. The Recess¹ of the Diet of Nürnberg,
18 April, 1524.

. . . Quam insuper praefata nostra instructio Ioanni Hannart, Oratori nostro ad hanc Imperialem Diaetam data inter alia in se complectitur: Nos, spe bona ductos qui Sacri Imperii status, tanquam sanctae fidei defensores et protectores, mandato nostro, de consensu Electorum, &c. . . . Wormatiae emanato,

¹ Weigand von Redwitz, 1522-†156.

² Andreas Osiander, b. 1498, in Nürnberg 1520-48, Prof. in Königsberg 1549-†152.

³ Christian II, 1480-†1559, King of Denmark 1513-23: m. Isabella of Austria in 1515. She died 1526.

¹ 'The recess ran in the form of an enforcement of the orders brought by Hannart from the Emperor,' Creighton, *Hist. Papacy*, vi. 283.

obedienter paruissent et satisfecissent ac illud idem manutenuissent, et ex eo quod promissa adimplere neglexerunt, non modicam, ratione Reipublicae Christianae et totius Germanicae Nationis, molestiam et displicentiam concepissee; ea propter desiderium et petitionem nostram iterum eo collocavimus ut quivis Electorum, etc., per se ipsum et apud subditos suos curaret et efficeret quod huiusmodi nostro mandato Wormatiensi deinceps adhuc obedienter obtemperaretur, cuius occasionem, ad huiusmodi nostram petitionem et desiderium, Nostri et S. R. I. Electores, etc., inter se concordarunt, et concluderunt se velle dicto nostro mandato obedienter (quemadmodum et ad id se obligatos esse recognoscunt) pro virili sua et in quantum possibile sit parere et illud adimplere et observare. Ac quo quaelibet potestas apud typographos . . . provideat ut deinceps famosi libelli seu iniuriosae scripturae et picturae in futurum in totum amoveantur, et ulterius non divulgentur sive dilatentur; quodque in posterum ratione bibliothecarum, iuxta tenorem praedicti mandati nostri, observetur.

Verum si cuiquam aliqua, circa praemissa, gravamina vel impedimenta accederent vel inferrentur, is ea nostro Locumtenenti et Reginiini significare poterit, qui a Nobis commissionem habent (prout et ipsis tenore praesentium seriose committimus) quatenus consilio et auxilio conquerentibus adsint, eos tueantur, et dictum nostrum mandatum omni diligentia exequantur. Et ne bonum cum malo supprimatur, et tandem resolutio fieri seu adamussim examinari possit quam viam in hac re quisque debeat amplecti, convenerunt nostri Locumtenentes, Orator, Electores, etc., cum S. D. N. Pontificis Legato hic praesente, qui generale, liberum et universale Concilium Christianitatis, tanquam summe necessarium, per Beat. Pont. de consensu nostro, quanto citius et quam primum possibile, futurum sit, ad locum convenientem in Germania, prout decet, indici et publicari.

Et nihilominus interea temporis in diem Divi Martini proximum in civitate Spirensi communis congregatio Germanicae Nationis celebrari, ac in eandem, ut praefertur, deliberari . . . debeat quo pacto usque ad indicendum generale concilium sit agendum. Ad quam congregationem quivis Electorum, etc., se personaliter conferre teneatur. . . .

Debebunt insuper nostri Locumtenentes et constitutum Regimen, Principes . . . Electores, etc., circa praescripta singulari . . . advertentia prospicere quod medio tempore sanctum Evangelium et Verbum Dei, secundum verum sincerum intellectum et interpretationem Doctorum a Communi Ecclesia

receptorum, absque tumultu et scandalo praedicetur et doceatur.

Gravamina denique Nationis Germanicae per Principes et Status saeculares contra Sedem Apostolicam in conventu proximo Imperiali hic celebrato, similiter et gravamina saecularium contra ecclesiasticos designata, consiliariis et personis per Principes Electores, etc., ita, ut praefertur, deputandis ad examinandum et consultandum committi debent ut ea studeant omni sedulitate . . . ponderare . . . quo pacto ad tolerabiles vias deduci possint in proximo communi conventu Imperiali. . .

No. 70. The Remonstrance and the Reply of Campeggio.¹

(1) *Responsio R. D. Card. Campegii Legati ad Recessum Conventus.*

1^o. Illud dico placere quod de revocatione mandati Wormatiensis dicunt, atque in hoc eos maxime hortor ut re ipsa efficiant quod praedictum mandatum effectualiter executioni mandetur et observetur.

2^o. Consideranda esse verba illa in praefatae resolutionis serie scripta, 'et ne bonum cum malo supprimatur, et tandem resolutio fieri seu adamussim examinari possit quam viam in hac re quisque debeat amplecti etc.' Ex quibus sensus videtur resultare non conveniens statibus S. R. I., quum innuant quod inter res istorum haereticorum sint aliqua bona quae, dato quod essent, cum veneno illita sint et nihil habeant nisi mortiferum, merito nullius debent esse considerationis, quum satis sit ex probatissimis auctoribus longe meliora haurire. Nec minus innuere videntur dicta verba aliquam esse apud ea proferentes dubietatem in iis quae fidei sunt, quod tamen a veritate maxime alienum est. Neque, nisi ullus potest aut debet esse dubitationi locus in iis quae ab universali ecclesia decisa sunt, per haereticos deducuntur, etiam alias per concilia universalia habita in Germania decisa sunt et determinata.

3^o. Quoad universale concilium liberum a S. D. N. indicendum et congregandum, quod et alias . . . respondi, nunc etiam respondeo, et dico illud non videri praesentaneum, ut res expostulat, remedium, quia nec repente nec brevi tempore cogi potest. Si tamen S. R. I. statibus, pro salute et tranquillitate omnium visum fuerit ita expedire, recipio me apud S. D. N. id curaturum existimoque S^m. suam intra legitimos terminos, quum de hac re cum Caesarea Maestate caeterisque Regibus Principibus et Populis Christianis tractaverit, atque de loco, tempore, modo

¹ Cf. Creighton, *Hist. Papacy*, vi. 284.

et caeteris ad id necessariis aliquid constitutum habuerit, quam primum per concordiam Principum . . . licuerit, illud indicturum.

4^o. Quoad communem congregationem Germanicae Nationis in die Divi Martini proxime futuri in civitate Spirensi fiendam, mihi nullo pacto videtur opportunum aut expediens quod talis congregatio fiat propter multas rationes. Non nisi sperandum est hac via quieti et tranquillitati huius Nationis recte consuli posse. Nam in tanto hominum numero et diversitate disceptare de iis quae pertinent ad fidem periculosissimum semper fuit, quia sacrarum literarum imperiti et decretorum nostrae religionis expertes, nihil possunt commodo de iis quae ad fidem sunt statuere. Et maxime, quia suspicandum est illuc plures conventuros animo in haeresim inclinato, quique tum palam venenum illud proferent quod egregie minus nunc dissimulant. Ac propterea huic periculo nos submittere non debemus. Quod si quid, ut saepe evenit, impiorum summa praevaleant, in eo conventu statueretur contra veram religionem, id nunquam postea sine sudore obliterari posset, praedicti conventus auctoritate munitum. Accedit insuper quod per hanc viam in Christiana religione schisma aeternum inducere possemus, dissidentibus in iis quae pertinent ad fidem Germanis a caeteris nationibus: quum verisimile non sit alias nationes, citra Pontificis auctoritatem, a Germanis leges aut ritus suscepturas: quod quantum futurum sit opportunum et commodum rationibus pacis, quam tantopere inter Christianos Principes affectamus, nullus est qui nesciat. Infelicitas porro maxima et indignitas insignis fuerit Christianae religionis eadem vulnera continue refricare, atque in dubium ea revocare quae centies ab Ecclesia, a Conciliis, ab Imperatoribus, Regibus et universo Christiano populo damnata fuere. Praeterea, in hac congregatione si omnis ordinis homines, quod affectare videntur et petunt, admittentur et plebs una cum . . . Praelatis et Principibus sedeat et sententiam dicat, quid futurum sit quaeve decreta haberi inde possint, quisque sibi cogitet. Si non admittentur, quid sine ipsis stabilitis et sanctis attributuri sint, vos dicite qui scitis eos iam nulli sanctioni Pontificiae aut Imperatoriae vel Conciliari auctoritatem aliquam reliquisse: clamabunt statim se exclusos ne in eorum corio ludentibus assisterent et rem suam cognoscerent. Itaque neque ad pacem neque ad quietem neque ad concordiam Germaniae congregationem hanc profuturam iudico. Quod si, omissis quae ad fidem et religionem spectant, dixerint aliqui praedictam congregationem suscipiendam esse in hanc rationem ut lapsi mores et cleri licentia coerceatur et restituatur, illud respondere

libere possum huiusmodi corruptelae iam satis cautum et provisum esse et leges in hac re multas latas esse; quae si observari mandentur et ad id me, sufficienti facultate munitum vocaverint, statim omnia fuerint restituta. Tota nisi huius rei ratio in hoc sita est: ut, quae commode adinventae et recte ad pacem et unionem Christianorum excogitatae et editae sunt, ea, inquam, omnia custodiantur et serventur.

5^o. Quoad materiam gravaminum, illud idem dico quod et alias . . . respondi, mihi magis placere ut materia haec per oratores eruditos et bene instructos apud S. D. N. et Sedem Apostolicam tractaretur: idque tam pro dignitate Sedis praefatae quam S. R. I., a quibus etiam plura impetraturi essent quam in multorum opinione cadant. Nihilominus, si maluerint hanc rem mecum tractare . . . ego me offero benigne auditurum omnia, ac . . . quaecunque fuerint . . . reformanda, . . . reformaturum.

(2) *Eiusdem Replicatio.*

Viso capitulo concernente materiam novarum haeresum Nobis per S. R. I. deputatos ultimo loco exhibitae ac, ut asseruerunt, per eos conclusae, dicimus et respondemus nostrae intentionis esse nullo pacto, circa Concilii Generalis congregationem et communem congregationem Germanicae Nationis ad diem Divi Martini proxime futuri in civitate Spirensi fiendam, quicquam polliceri, assentire vel consentire ultra et praeter tenorem eorum quae per Nos dictis S. R. I. deputatis in scriptis datae et exhibitae sunt.

No. 71. The remedies desired by the Court of Rome.

. . . At Pontifex ea scita Principum Germanorum aegerrime tulit, intelligens novum de religione tribunal eo pacto excitari citra ipsius auctoritatem. Idcirco coetum Romae collegit, qui varia huiusce negotii capita rite perpenderet.

24. Primum: Quae ratio esset ineunda, ut Edicto Wormatiensi obtemperaretur. Opportunum ad id visum est, a Caesare, cuius decus et auctoritas in ea re agitur, enixe petendum simulque a Pontifice sedulo curandum ut Reges Angliae et Lusitaniae ad id compellerent Principes ac Civitates Germaniae, adiectis etiam minis denegandi commercia suis in regnis mercatoribus contumacium regionum, tamquam haeresi contaminatis. Fuit id ipsius Pontificis consilium: nam praeter egregriorum illorum Regum studium religionis, peculiaremque in ipsum Pontificem benevolentiam ac necessitudinem, eorum officia minime suspecta Germanis futura erant. Reges id naviter

praestitere, omissis tamen amovendi commercii minis; quæ sane adversus humorum malignitatem potentior amarities fuisset.

25. Secundum: Qua ratione cavendum esset ne in Spirensi conventu religionis articuli ex decreti forma discuterentur. Commodum ad id visum ut Legatus omni cura ac sollicitudine suaderet iis qui Catholicarum essent partium, praesertim ecclesiasticis, ut obfirmati resisterent, eosdemque cohortaretur ut, quominus ipsi praesentes ob stare possent, per absentiam quidem impedirent, vel certe auctoritatem detraherent: praeterea sollemni clausula caverent ne quid iura Pontificis laederentur. Prae cunctis vero curaret, uti Caesar rem totam prohiberet: vel saltem, si aliter fieri non posset, Conventum retardaret, se dictitans interfuturum.

26. Tertium: Quidnam respondendum circa petitionem Concilii, et circa *Centum Gravamina*. Consensere ut, quod ad primum spectaret, suapte quasi sponte Legatus diceret multo magis exoptari Concilium a Pontifice quo iurisdicatio ecclesiastica, tot in locis totque nominibus labefactata restitueretur: nihilominus oportere, uti pax Christianarum gentium, Principumque consensio in cunctis conditionibus, Concilio viam sternerent: sed ea de re cum Pontifice agendum. Ad alterum vero responderet, praecipua quibus gravabantur onera, sublata iam fuisse per leges Concilii Lateranensis, qualem observantiam Pontifex statim ac fuit creatus iam indixerat; si quaedam alia minuenda adhuc censerentur, id ipsum etiam ante Concilium curaturum Pontificem, cum ad deliberandum de hisce rebus peculiaris Congregatio fuerit statuta.

27. Quartum fuit: An amplius cum Duce Saxoniae Pontifici agendum esset. Comperio, ab Aleandro, in prolixo Commentario de huiusmodi rebus, Pontificis iussu ab eo conscripto ante Campeggii discessum, hoc datum consilium: Quando irritae cederent admonitiones omnes, mitiora praetermittenda infligendasque severiores Ecclesiae poenas, cumque Septemviratu privandum: sed haec peracta non sunt, et Saxo paucos post menses occubuit¹.

No. 72. The Emperor's instructions to his Ambassador at Rome.

... Has received the brief of the Pope, in which his Holiness speaks of Luther, and of the decision of the Diet of Nuremberg to convoke a new diet of the whole German nation in Spire, in which the affairs concerning Luther, the war with the Turks,

¹ 5 May 1525.

and other affairs are to be settled. Is very sorry that a diet has been convoked at Spire, as new and greater errors and calamities will be the only consequences of the debates which will take place. Has therefore sent letters to the Infante (Ferdinand), to the Regents of the Empire, to the Princes Electors, the Estates General and Provincial, and to other persons. Encloses copies of these letters and authorizes him to show them to the Pope. Fears, however, that these letters will have no greater effect than his solemn edict given at Worms, and that the diet will assemble in spite of them. The evil, it is to be feared, will increase so much that it will be found impossible to eradicate it afterwards.

Two remedies only present themselves to him: either he must go to Germany, and punish the heretics with severity, or a general council must be convoked. As it is impossible for him to go soon to Germany, he begs the Pope to decide what he ought to do. Promises his Holiness, as a good son of the Church, to stake his person and his states to suppress a sect which is evidently dangerous to all religious authority. As the Germans have asked the Legate, Cardinal Campeggio, to propose to the Pope a general council to be held in Germany, it would be well if his Holiness would anticipate the conventicle at Spire by the convocation of a general council at Trent. The Germans consider Trent as a German city, although it is, properly speaking, Italian. Although the council ought to be convoked at Trent early next spring, it can afterwards be prorogued and transferred to another city in Italy; Rome, for example, or wherever the Pope likes. Promises to obey the orders of the Holy Father. . . .

Burgos, the 18th of July, 1524.

No. 73. The League of Ratisbon, 7 July, 1524.

Constitutio ad removendos abusos et ordinatio ad vitam cleri reformandam, per Reverendissimum in Christo Patrem et Dominum, D. Laurentium, tit. sanctae Anastasiae S. R. E. presbyterum Cardinalem et ad Germaniam, &c., de latere legatum: ex sacrae Regiae Maiestatis procerumque Imperii consensu Ratisbonae edita, A. D. MDXXIV.

Laurentius miseratione divina, &c. . . . ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Ex legationis officio a Sede Apostolica nobis commissio obligamur ut circa statum personarum ecclesiasticarum . . . in melius reducendum propensius cogitemus ut quae in eis a sanctorum patrum decretis . . . deviare per-

pendimus, ad debitam reformationis normam dirigentes eis opem et operam adhibeamus efficaces. Nuper siquidem, cum S. D. N. Clemens Papa VII . . . nos ad universam Germaniam . . . miserit, non ob aliam causam quam ut tranquillitati provinciae et salutis animarum quae periclitantur ob . . . nuper natam impurissimam omnis haereseos sentinam consulat. Quod onus licet humeris nostris impar, eius tamen praeceptis . . . obedire . . . subivimus: nihil . . . cupientes quam quod ad munus hoc feliciter implendum attineat. Cumque aliquot mensium experientia multa collapsa et praeter omnem opinionem difficultatibus plena perpendimus, cum serenissimo Ferdinando Hispaniarum Principe, Archiduce Austriae, Imperiali Locumtenente generali, communicatis consiliis concordii sententia particularem conventum in civitate Ratisbonae convocare decrevimus. In quo una nobiscum interfuerunt praefatus serenissimus Princeps et Archidux: Rev. Matthaeus S. R. E. tit. S. Angeli presbyter Cardinalis, Archiepiscopus Salzburgensis¹; ac Illustrissimi Wilhelmus et Ludovicus, Palatini Rheni, Duces in superiori et inferiori Bavaria, fratres germani²: Venerabiles in Christo patres, Bernhardus, Episcopus Tridentinus³, Iohannes Administrator Ecclesiae Ratisbonensis, Palatinus Rheni, Dux Bavariae⁴: ac nuncii sive oratores omnes, cum pleno mandato Ven. in Christo patrum et illustr. Principum, Vigandi ep. Bambergensis⁵; Georgii ep. Spirensis⁶, Palatini Rheni, Ducis Bavariae; Wilhelmi⁷ ep. Argentiniensis; Christophori ep. Augustensis⁸; Hugonis ep. Constantiensis⁹; Christophori ep. Basiliensis¹⁰; Philippi ep. Frisingensis, Pal. Rheni, Ducis Bavariae¹¹; Ernesti Adm. Eccl. Pataviensis ac Pal. Rheni, Ducis sup. et inf. Bavariae¹²; et Sebastiani ep. Brixienis¹³.

Cum quibus, pluribus hinc inde in discussionem allatis et praecipue quibus consiliis . . . nationi Germanicae periclitanti consuleretur, paribus sentiis receptum fuit hanc perditissimam haeresim, rudi populo plausibilem ob libertatem illi

¹ Matthew Lang, Abp. of Salzburg, 1514-†40.

² Wilhelm IV, 1508-†50, and Ludwig X, 1508-†45.

³ Bernhard Clesius, Bp. of Trent, 1514-39.

⁴ Johann III, Bp. of Regensburg, 1507-†38.

⁵ Weigand von Redwitz, Bp. of Bamberg, 1522-†56.

⁶ Georg, Bp. of Speier, 1513-†29.

⁷ Wilhelm, Bp. of Strassburg, 1506-†41.

⁸ Christopher, Bp. of Augsburg, 1517-†43.

⁹ Hugo, Bp. of Constance, 1496-1529.

¹⁰ Christopher, Bp. of Basel, 1502-†27.

¹¹ Philip, Bp. of Freising, 1498-†1541.

¹² Ernest, Bp. of Passau, 1514-†40.

¹³ Sebastian, Bp. of Brixen, 1521-5.

falso persuasam praetextu evangelicae caritatis, non parvam habuisse occasionem, partim a perditis moribus et dissoluta vita clericorum, partim ob non diutius dissimulandum sacrarum sanctionum ecclesiasticarumque constitutionum abusum; et perinde non parum momenti fore exstirpandae haereticorum Lutheranorum et eorum sequacium sectae ut clerici ad honestatem vitae moresque suos illos quos D. Paulus exigit . . . debita censura reducti, abususque laicos male offendentes sublati fuerint. Itaque habitis maturis deliberationibus . . . praefatorum Ferdinandi Principis, &c. . . salutare aliquot . . . modos praescribere . . . necessarium duximus. Quocirca, auctoritate apostolica qua fungimur in hac parte statuta . . . per nos . . . edita ab omnibus et singulis . . . religiosis et clericis in universa Germania residentibus inviolabiliter observari volumus. . . . *Tenor vero statutorum . . . est talis:*

1. Cum potissimum anima verbo, quod ex ore Dei procedit, vivat, id autem nec passim nec ab omnibus expediat praedicari, admonente Apostolo, qui inquit: *Quomodo enim praedicabunt, nisi mittantur*: ideo statuimus et ordinamus ut non liceat cuiquam, etiam religionem professo et quomodolibet exercitato, evangelium docere nisi ab Ordinario vel eius vicario tam moribus quam doctrina probatus fuerit, facta fide, per patentes literas, quae praeter Notarii mercedem gratis concedantur. Missi itaque atque probati evangelicum negotium tractabunt recte, sobrie et pure, loca quaeque recondita magis et abstrusa intellectuque difficilia non ad novum et adulterinum sensum sed iuxta sanctorum Patrum et ab ecclesia receptorum Doctorum, praecipue Cypriani, Chrysostomi, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, Augustini et Gregorii exponant et interpretentur. Omni etiam ope studeant ne pro veris somnia et aniles fabellas, pro certis dubia, pro receptis apocrypha et iamdudum explosa damnataque ab orthodoxa ecclesia tradant vel depromant. . . . Itaque Ordinarius aliquot excellenti doctrina praeditos constituat qui per diocesim inquirant qui sint ad evangelicam doctrinam idonei disseminandam quique ad Lutheranam perfidiam non deflectant, ut remedia adhibeantur quo populus recte instituatur in Christiana lege, et ab ea deficiens ne secum alios trahat, debite coerceatur, cultus divinus observetur, peragaturque his modis et ritibus qui per manus sanctorum patrum nobis traditus et per maiores nostros observatus est in sacrificio altaris, officiis defunctorum, canonicis horis, caeterisque divinis laudibus atque ceremoniis.

2. Hinc hortamur atque monemus omnes et singulos, qui sacris initiati sunt, ut vivant vitam quam professio exigit et

Christus requirit, inquires : *Sic luceat lux vestra*, &c., cum vestitu honesto incedant, quam Paulus alibi praescripsit. Quapropter singulari cura intendat quisque Praelatus ne hi quibus praest, in sacris ordinibus constituti, vestes varii coloris, veluti virgatas et fimbriatas deferant sed longis atque talaribus utantur, nulla arma induant, nisi itinerantes, barbamque atque comam non nutriant, coronam et tonsuram deferentes, tum summopere curantes ne quem laicorum indecentia vestitus offendant. . . .

3. Insuper tabernas publicas evitent, nisi eas peregre proficiscentes ingredi oporteat, et tam inibi quam domi et alibi a crapula, ebrietatibus, omniq. ludo a iure prohibito, blasphemis, rixis ac aliis quibuscunque excessibus et offensionibus penitus abstineant; choreas spectaculaque et convivia publicavitent, ne ob luxum petulantiamque eorum nomen ecclesiasticum male audiat.

4. Cumque secundum Apostolum *Nemo militans Deo sese negotiis secularibus implicare debeat*, nemini liceat contra provincialia statuta et synodalia domi suae tabernam computandique locum aperire laicis, quoniam non raro sequi solent ebrietatem rixae, caedes et multa hoc genus scelera quae sacerdotalem polluant dignitatem. Praeterea negotiationibus mercimoniisque more mercatorum abstineant.

5. Sacerdotes autem curati quique vicem eorum referunt subditos in remediis et aliis iuribus parochialibus ultra ea quae sibi de iure debentur non gravent, ultraque depositionem eos ad peractiones Septimi, Tricesimi vel Anniversarii peragi faciendas non cogant; tum praeter oblationes festis sollemnibus fieri solitas, cum illa pro arbitrio fieri debeant, alias non exigant.

6. De sepultura quoque ac administratione sacramentorum aliisque spiritualibus pacisci aut aliquid ab invito exigere nemo possit aut debeat, et propter eiusmodi a parochianis neglecta cuiquam non liceat aliquod sacramentorum denegare, neque propter debita quempiam ab ecclesiastica sepultura prohibere. Parochialia tamen iura, quae usus recepit et debentur altari servienti, per praedicta non abrogamus.

7. Cum autem in diocesis non sit eadem consuetudo et inter subditos et pastores multa et varia emergant dissidia, pastoribus quibusdam plura exigere propensis, subditis vero ob penuriam et egestatem reclamantibus et recusantibus, ordinamus quod quilibet Ordinarius infra sex menses post praesentium publicationem . . . super praedictis certam legem ordinationemque una cum Principum aut Dominorum saecularium consilio, quos ista negotia tangunt, constituat, ne

viduae pupilli et alii pauperes nimium ultra vires iniuste graventur. . . .

8. Convivia presbyterorum, quae in exequiis et fraternitatibus publice in tabernis hucusque exhibita sunt, prorsus abrogamus, quod plerumque laicis sint scandalo: si autem convivium vel consuetudo vel locorum distantia exiget, fiat illud in domo sacerdotis, honesteque non ad luxum sed ad necessitatem instruatur. Siquidem neque comensationi neque computationi vacandum est sacerdotibus, cum quod non audiant *quorum Deus est venter*, tum quod officii eorum est et sobrie et caste pro peccatis Deo dona sacrificiaque offerre.

9. Porro ne et ipsi videantur pecuniae aucupium magis quam salutis animarum studium amplecti, dum laicos graviora delicta confessos hinc inde remittunt, non sine famae rerumque dispendio: constituimus et ordinamus ut deinceps quilibet confessor absolvere possit laicos contritos et confessos a quibuscunque peccatis occultis . . . quae Ordinarii suae auctoritati reservaverunt, exceptis duntaxat homicidis, haereticis et excommunicatis ad episcopum vel eius vicarium mittendis. Quo autem ad clericos, nihil quoad statutum intelligatur innovatum. Pro condonatione autem et remissione peccatorum, quam absolutionem vocant, nihil omnino ab invito exigant.

10. Sancimus quoque iuxta Apostoli sententiam, quae dicit *Nemini cito esse manum imponendam*, ne cui temere cura animarum committatur. Itaque probetur prius per Episcopum vel eius officialem etiam religionem professus, nec liceat ulli vicarium ecclesiae et plebis suae sufficere illamve locare sive emolumentum, quod absentiae nomine recipiet, constituere sine auctoritate Episcopi aut vicarii. Nam cum os bovi trituranti non sit alligandum, Episcopi vel officialis arbitrio cuiusmodi emolumenta locationum et absentiarum moderanda censemus.

11. Domos quoque fundosque dotales beneficiorum collapsos instaurent possessores, quantum necessitas postulaverit, reparatae in debita structura conservent: et per archidiaconos et decanos rurales ac alios, ad quos de iure vel consuetudine spectat, ubi negligentes fuerint, per subtractionem proventuum, auctoritate nostra arctius compellantur.

12. Expresse caventes ne cura ecclesiarum beneficiorumque concedatur religionem quamcunque professis, etiam exemptis; quod, si aliqui hactenus admissi vel recepti essent, nisi de voluntate favoreque superioris sui, legitimisque causis constiterit, extra sua monasteria degere nequaquam sibi integrum fore

putent; quando illos sic vagos per Ordinarios vel vicarios ad superiores suos per victus denegationem, aut alia iuris remedia, remittendos esse iubemus.

13. Monasteriorum praelati unicas ecclesias habentes praedictos vicarios, perpetuos vel ad nutum amovendos, in iisdem ecclesiis in posterum non constituent nisi prius per Ordinarios, aut eorum vicarios, ut idonei et apti, fuerint admissi. Ecclesiae tamen suis monasteriis unitae usque adeo propinquae quod religiosi earundem curam habituri sub religione in monasterio sub debitaque obedientia stare possint, modo sint habiles et idonei, per eiusmodi religiosos provideri possint; id quoque permittimus de monasterio, quod tam tenue est ut debitam sustentationem habere nequeat; volentes religiosos, et qualitercunque exemptos, curata beneficia habentes Ordinario loci esse subiectos.

14. Cumque in ecclesia Dei magis praestet paucos bonos et doctos quam plures indoctos et imperitos habere ministros, id quod ratio nostrorum temporum exigere videtur: idcirco deinceps non initientur sacris ordinibus nisi viri morum, vitae candore et doctrina prae caeteris spectati, probatique per testimonium examinis rite servandi.

15. Quod attinet ad ordinatos in urbe vel in alia quacunque aliena diocesi, sancimus ut et illi suarum ordinationum litteras et titulos ostendant. Et simili modo ad divina peragenda prius non admittantur quam ab Episcopo vel vicario seu officiali fuerint rite admissi.

16. Praeterea cum nihil aeque conveniat omnibus numeris ad eos esse mundos qui vasa Domini portant et in sacrario operantur, quales sacerdotes constituit ipse Dominus qui quotidie sacrosancta tractant et in illis versantur: igitur volumus atque, iuxta sanctiones canonicas feliciter a divis patribus institutas, sancimus ut caste continenterque vivant; sacerdotes concubinari incontinenterque vitam agentes canonum poenis in ordinem redigantur, nulla consuetudine eis, nulla conniventia, imo damnosa praelatorum negligentia, patrocinante.

17. Quo vero ad Quaestores, qui vulgo Stationarii appellantur, statuimus ne quis, quavis auctoritate et litterarum occasione, vel ad praedicandum vel subsidia eleemosynasque colligendas se ingerat, utcumque se iactet indulgentiis abundare, nisi prius litterae admissionis et approbationis Ordinariorum vel vicariorum ab eo prolatae fuerint: astringentes ipsos Ordinarios ut tales admittant qui probae vitae testimonium habeant, et de praedicatione sua, dum opus erit, rationem reddere possint,

eleemosynis piorumque oblationibus non abusuri per luxum proprium, religione iurisiurandi affirmaturi se nec quotam nec totam colligendi facultatem certa summa pecuniarum pactos esse. Fratribus tamen Mendicantibus integras salvasque concessionem a Sede Apostolica factas relinquimus.

18. Et ut pastor agnoscat vocem ovis et illa vicissim vocem pastoris audiat tollaturque omnis vagandi occasio, ordinamus quod presbyteri peregrini et ignoti ad missarum sacrificium non admittantur nec ultra mensis spatium in consortio presbyterorum tolerentur, nisi exhibeant litteras admissionis alterius ex archiepiscopis vel episcopis in cuius diocesim se transtulerint, ac documenta et litteras testimoniales sui Ordinarii a cuius diocesi proxime discesserunt, quibus de eorum ordinibus et honestate constet, ne aliquis incorrigibilis post perpetratos excessus impune ad alienam diocesim transeundo evadat.

19. Ut autem Christi fidelium eleemosynae in usum pro quo erogantur vertantur, non liceat procuratoribus seu villicis fabricarum in singulis ecclesiis quicquam de pecuniis ad fabricam provenientes distribuere aut in aedificiorum vel alterius rei usum dispensare. sine rectoris scitu, sed ad armaria fabricae reponantur, ut hactenus servatum est, duobus vel tribus clavibus pro loci consuetudine tenendis, quarum una ipsi rectori servanda tradatur, observato usu in clavibus et rationibus reddendis a principibus et superioribus hactenus recepto.

20. Statuimus quoque et ordinamus ne episcoporum in pontificalibus vicarii in consecrandis ecclesiis et altaribus, quod sacri iubent canones, quicquam omnino exigant, excepta procuratione. Convenit namque ut pro qualitate status ipsorum episcopi prospiciant, praestando praecipue pensiones super fructibus mensae episcopalis a Sede Apostolica constitutas, ne aliquid attentare habeat in dedecus episcopalis dignitatis.

21. Nec ab re, immo iustis de causis adducti, festorum multitudinem constringendam esse duximus: statuentes et ordinantes ut de caetero Dominica dies, quae in gloriam Dominicae resurrectionis ad nos a primitiva ecclesia maxime celebris semper habita est: dies quoque Nativitatis Christi, S. Stephani, Iohannis et Innocentium, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniarum, Paschae cum feria secunda et tertia duntaxat, Ascensionis, Georgii, Pentecostes cum feria secunda et tertia duntaxat, Corporis Christi, quatuor B. Virginis Purificationis, Annuntiationis, Assumptionis et Nativitatis: Natalitia Apostolorum, Iohannis Baptistae, Magdalenae, Laurentii, Dedicationis,

Michaelis, Omnium Sanctorum, Martini, Nicolai et Catharinae; et per diocesim Salzburgensem festivitates S. Ruperti, sicuti hactenus observatae fuere, celebres quoque et festi habeantur. In caeteris autem festivitibus, quacunque ratione vel institutis vel receptis, et qui sub praecepto celebrari debeant, permittimus liberumque cuique facimus ut Missa audita ad operas suas quibus suam suorumque alimoniam quaerere cogitur redire possit: festis tamen dedicationum patronorum et principalium nihil derogantes quo ad eorum celebrationem in cathedrali sede civitateque ac loco, etiam episcopalis residentiae duntaxat.

22. Cumque inter pastores et gregem propter nuptiarum celebritatem, quam alii inthronizationem alii solemnizationem vocare solent, multa et iurgia et scandala eveniant, declaramus et statuimus quod matrimonia in conspectu ecclesiae possint solemnizari, nullo ab Ordinario ad hoc consensu petito aut quapiam re pro eo exposita: exceptis tamen tota Quadragesima, ultima hebdomada Adventus, festis Paschae, Pentecostes et Nativitatis Dominicae, cum octavis, et diebus Rogationum.

23. Ieiunia ab ecclesia instituta, sub debito obedientiae sanctae ecclesiae catholicae, in posterum indici debent omissio excommunicationis verbo ne infirmorum conscientiae offendantur; cum his temporibus pietas paene omnis iaceat, sacerdotibusque parum deferatur.

24. Ut igitur et extinctus cultus excitetur populusque non fiat in dies negligentior, statuimus ut propter eadem clericorum persona tantum, non autem locus, interdicendus veniat, nisi coetu concursuque populari facinus patratum esset.

25. Inhibemus insuper ne in posterum episcopi clericis legitimis ab intestato decedentibus in patrimonialibus bonis aut industria propria acquisitis succedere possint aut debeant.

26. Cumque quotidie ob novas, immo iam olim damnatas, haereses, apostatarum et religiosorum sacerdotumque numerus in immensum crescat, quam plurimis eorum uxores ducentibus: ut ergo sacrilegia haec impunita non remaneant, concedimus quibuscunque principibus statibusque potestatis secularis eorumque officialibus ut eiusmodi apostatas et sacrilegos capere possint, modo reos ipsos Ordinariis infra tempus debitum tradant et assignent absque aliqua in eos tortura et animadversione debite puniendos: quibus enixe mandamus ut, omni posita mora favoreque, diligentius quam hactenus factum fuit, iuxta sacras sanctiones omnino puniant facinorosos, adeo quod criminis enormitate expostulante possit episcopus,

servata forma capituli primi *De haereticis* in *Sexto*, reum curiae saeculari relinquere vel ad perpetui carceris aerumnam damnare. Negligentia autem Ordinariorum ad Apostolicam Sedem deducta, iudices ecclesiastici ab ea deputabuntur qui constituto de Ordinariorum negligentia ad preces Principum aliorumque saecularium reos maxime haereseos meritis poenis afficient.

27. Quod iam episcoporum quidam ut accepimus de beneficiorum pensionibus atque absentis exigant decimas, cum sit id contrarium iuri longeque praestet male inductos usus delere quam inusitatum quid admittere, ideo decimas eiusmodi ulterius exigi solvique interdiciamus, usumque talem qualitercunque receptum cassantes cassatumque esse censentes.

28. Itemque improbamus et ut absonum prorsus reicimus ab episcopis medios exigi fructus de beneficiis quae unius sustentationi vix sufficiunt: ut sunt quae non excedunt valorem triginta duorum Rhenensium de quibus in Romana Curia medii fructus non exiguntur. . . .

29. Caeterum quo maior fiat coniunctio firmaque magis inter provinciales stabiliatur concordia totius Provinciae, antiquum morem Synodorum innovantes, statuimus ut singulo triennio post Pascha Provinciale Concilium celebretur.

30. Ad haec cum beneficia propter officia, iuxta patrum sanctiones, dari consueverint, fierique vix possit ut, in tanta praebendorum caterva non reperiatur qui officii oblitus horas negligat canonicas: hinc statuentes volumus et ordinamus ut locorum Ordinarii, per archidiaconos et decanos, de huiusmodi sacerdotibus negligentibus sese diligenter doceant; et secundum uniuscuiusque negligentiam atque desidiam fructus perceptos vel in utilitatem ecclesiae vel in usum pauperum vertant. Quod si, post legitimas monitiones et simul primam correctionem, in eandem negligentiam . . . quis relabatur, tum beneficio etiam ecclesiastico privetur. . . .

31. Sanctionem patrum, qua ecclesiastica sepultura privatur quisquis non confessus nec Eucharistiae paschali tempore communionem sumpserit, inviolabiliter observandam esse statuimus; ac, ubi quem contigerit inopinata morte obire inconfessum, sepultura praefata illum carere non volumus; modo ipsius curato constet, vel doceatur illi, ipsum secundum iam dictam sanctionem confessum esse et simul communicatum, aliudque non obstat canonicum impedimentum.

32. Ad tollendam execrabilem blasphemiam divini nominis atque divorum, quos temnere fas non est, statuimus et ordina-

mus ut quicumque clericus vel sacerdos Deo palam maledixerit convitiis contumeliisque atque adeo obscaenis verbis incesserit Deum et Dominum nostrum Christum, aut nunquam satis laudatam Matrem eius gloriosam Virginem pari blasphema lingua impetiverit, aliosque sanctos blasphemaverit, fructuum vel bonorum privatione seu aliis poenis pro qualitate blasphemiae et delicti plectatur.

33. Contra Simoniae labem non discedimus a patrum sanctionibus iubentes eas sub poenis in illis contentis observari.

34. In sortilegos, divinaculos incantatoresque clericos, quos tam sacrae leges quam patrum decreta execrantur, statuimus et ordinamus ut arbitrio superiorum infamia notentur; si qui moniti non destiterint, ordine amoveantur, inque monasterium ad tempus iuxta arbitrium superioris relegentur, beneficiis officiisque suis ecclesiasticis privati. Cacteri autem pseudo-christiani, de fideque parum probe sentientes, citra delectum personarum, haeretici quoque vel Iudaismum referentes, a sancta Christianorum congregatione procul arceantur, contraque eos diligenti inquisitione procedatur per Ordinarios vel eorundem vicarios aut haereticae pravitatis Inquisitores, per iudices a Sede Apostolica vel per nos deputandos ut, non resipiscentes, poenis puniantur debitis.

35. Prohibemus etiam tam clericis quam laicis de sacrosancta fide temere, praecipue inter pocula atque convivia, disceptare; iniungentes sacerdotibus ut omni modestia utantur et peculiariter operam impendant Novo Veterique Testamento legendo, ut par est, ne per otia in vitia voluptatesque labantur.

36. Statuimus et ordinamus ut quilibet episcopus diligenter provideat atque inprimis id curet ut vicarii sui, perpetui sive pro nutu positi, competentem vivendi portionem assequantur, ne detur eis ansa suos subditos ob rei familiaris penuriam gravandi. Porro quod proxime accedit ad Apostolorum institutionem moremque primitivae Ecclesiae, hortamur cum praefatos tum reliquos sacerdotes, ut meminerint pauperum et eleemosynis studeant alter alterum vincere.

37. Sunt item pleraque alia summis pontificibus, sacris conciliis, provincialibusque et synodalibus constitutionibus prodita, quae mire decent et adornant candorem vitae clericalis, nec minus obviant offendiculis quae Christus passim cavenda praecepit, quae velut sancta teneri observarique mandamus. . . .

37. Inhibentesque propterea omnibus et singulis vicariis et officialibus nec non et archidiaconis et decanis ruralibus aliisque ad quos criminum denunciatio correctioque quomodolibet spectat, aut quibus id per Ordinarios committetur, ne ad excessus transgressionisque alicuius dictarum constitutionum . . . nostrarum, ob pecuniam etiam ultro oblatam aut alterius rei gratia conniveant, sed potius ad poenas . . . debitas contra delinquentes . . . procedant. Atque ut ita fiat . . . utque refloreat Catholica Fides ecclesiasticaque dignitas (haeresibus radicitus extirpatis) suum locum recuperet, id vix alio medio aptius . . . fieri possit quam synodis. Itaque, priscum synodorum morem renovare cupientes, statuimus et ordinamus ut singulo anno saltem Synodus Diocesana opportuno tempore a singulis episcopis celebretur . . . in quibus per quartas designentur iudices qui diligenter intendant si statuta praedicta aliaque per synodos de scitu episcopi statuenda observentur, invocato ad hoc, si opus fuerit, brachio saeculari. . . .

Datum Ratisponae anno a Nat. Dom. 1524 nonis Iulii, Pontificatus praefati D. N. Papae anno quarto.

XXVI

THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM IN SWEDEN,

1523-4

On St. Margaret's Day, 20 July 1397, by the Union of Calmar, Margaret, Queen of Norway, united the three Scandinavian Kingdoms under one elective crown. Half a century later the Union was in abeyance, and Sweden obtained a King of its own in Charles Canuteson, 1448-57. When, in 1454, he attempted to restrict the liberty of bequests to the church and attacked the property and privileges of the clergy, they protested and secured his expulsion. On 19 June 1457, Christian I, first King of Denmark, 1448-†81, of the House of Oldenburg, was crowned King of Sweden. Next year, he obtained the succession in all three kingdoms for his son John : and in 1460 the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein came to his House. King John, 1497-1501, could not hold his own against the nobles : but his son Christian II, who, in 1513, succeeded his father as King in Denmark and Norway, landed in Sweden in the character of a papal champion, and was crowned at Stockholm, 4 Nov. 1520, by Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Upsala¹, 1514-23, a friend of the foreign and of the

¹ ¶ Upsala became an archbishopric 1163, and had five suffragan sees in Sweden, Wexiö, ¶ Skara, Linköping, ¶ Strengnäs, and ¶ Wexerås, with ¶ Åbo in Finland. ¶ Vacant in 1523.

papal interest. By the Massacre of Stockholm, 8-11 Nov., Christian thought to suppress the patriots and secure the Union. But it roused a spirit at once anti-papal and national, which, after his dethronement, 1521, and a war of independence, 1521-3, placed Gustavus Vasa, 1523-60, on the throne. Gustavus was elected, 7 June 1523, by the Diet of Strengnäs. Since 1519, Strengnäs had been the centre from which reforming doctrines had been propagated by the brothers Olaus, 1497-†1552, and Laurentius Petri, 1499-†1573, lately returned from Wittenberg. Olaus received preferment in the cathedral from Laurentius Andreae, 1480-†1552, then administrator of the diocese. All three might now be useful to the King, who wanted the wealth of the Church with its 7 Sees and 50 Religious Houses (Weidling, *Schwedische Geschichte*, 36 sqq.) to pay his debts for the war to Lübeck, and for the maintenance of his throne. Accordingly, in spite of the opposition of the hierarchy led by [No. 74] John Brask, Bishop of Linköping, 1513-28 (cf. *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Historia*, vol. xviii. 236, and Watson, *The Swedish Revolution under Gustavus Vasa*, 161 sq.), he appointed Laurentius Andreae Chancellor, June 1523, Olaus Petri preacher at and recorder of Stockholm, and his brother Laurentius professor¹ at Upsala. Here, with a view to breaking down the attachment of the people to the old religion [No. 75], a disputation was arranged, 27 Dec. 1524, at which, against Dr. Galle, Provost of Upsala, as champion of the existing order, Olaus maintained the Lutheran opinions (Baazius, *Inventarium Ecclesiae Sveo-Gothorum*, 165 sqq., Lincopiae, 1642).

No. 74. Correspondence of Bishop Brask.

(1) *Letter of Brask, Bishop of Linköping, to Johannes Magni, Legate of Adrian VI and Archbishop-elect 23 Nov. 1523, of Upsala, written on 20 June 1524.*

... Insuper, R.P., accrescit continue turba eorum extraneorum fovientium schisma Lutheranum per venditionem suorum operum, non obstante nostra prohibitione alias facta sub censuris: ita quod veremur sero medicinam parari, nisi celeriter prudenti vestro consilio ac auctoritate huic infectivo

¹ Rector of the University, 1527; Archbishop, 1531. Consecrated by the Catholic Bishop Petrus Magni of Westeras, 1527-†34. On the question of Swedish Orders see Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*, i. 297 (ed. 3, 1842); *Report of the Lambeth Conference*, 1897, 119 sqq. and, 1908, 179 sqq.; Bright, *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, 50 n. and *Letters*, 277 sq.; A. Nicholson, *Apostolic Succession in the Church of Sweden* (Rivington, 1880 and [part ii] Griffith and Farnan, 1887).

morbo occurratur, iuxta commissionem Apostolicæ Sedis eidem V. R. P. factam. . . .

(2) *Correspondence of Bishop Brask with the King, 1524.*

(a) *The Bishop*, 21 May.—‘By the allegiance which I owe you, I deem it my duty to urge you not to allow the sale of Luther’s books within the realm, nor give his pupils shelter or encouragement of any kind, till the coming council of the Church shall pass its judgement. . . . I know not how your Grace can better win the love of God, as well as of all Christian Kings and Princes, than by restoring the Church of Christ to the state of harmony that it has enjoyed in ages past.’

(b) *The King*, 8 June.—‘Regarding your request that we forbid the sale of Luther’s writings, we know not by what right it could be done, for we are told his teachings have not yet been found by impartial judges to be false. Moreover, since writings opposed to Luther have been circulated throughout the land, it seems but right that his too should be kept public, that you and other scholars may detect their fallacies and show them to the people. Then the books of Luther may be condemned. As to your charge that Luther’s pupils are given shelter at our court, we answer that they have not sought it. If indeed they should, you are aware it is our duty to protect them as well as you. If there be any in our protection whom you wish to charge, bring your accusation and give their names.’

No. 75. The Disputation at Upsala, 27 Dec. 1524.

Prop. I. An religio, recepta usuque longo servata, sit abroganda, ut etiam tollantur ritus ab ecclesia instituti?

Resp. D. Galle. Propositio continet duas partes. 1^a est de dogmate. Christiana religio defendit S. Scripturam, quam rite exponunt antiqui patres. Nam cum S. Scriptura sit intellectu difficilis, etiam tractet obscuriora, teste Apostolo Petro, 2 Pet. iii. [15 sq.]; intelligere autem obscuriora sine interprete nemo præsumit, quod exemplo Aethiopis eunuchi, Act. viii. [31] liquet; suntque vetusti interpretes sanctissimi viri, dicente Apostolo, 2 Pet. i. [21], quibus singularia dona sunt collata, referente Paulo 1 Cor. xii: ergo qui dogma illorum a Spiritu sancto ingestum negat, is Spiritui S. resistere deprehenditur, nec veram

religionem tenere potest. 2^a pars propositionis est de ritibus ecclesiae. Qui ritus vel constitutiones non sunt contrariae verbo scripto, omnino servantur: siquidem sunt apostolicae. Novimus autem multa esse ab apostolis constituta quae scripta non sunt, teste Apostolo, 1 Cor. xi. [34] 'Dum venio, constituam'; et Ioannes dicit, 3 Ep. [13 sq.] 'Nolo scribere calamo, sed tradere per sermonem'. Item Act. xvi [4] et xvii Paulus et Silas iusserunt fideles servare constitutiones apostolorum. Ergo servantur traditiones et ritus ab apostolis et ecclesia primitiva constituti. Unde Augustinus dicit [*Ep.* xxxvi, § 2] ad Casul., quae sententia etiam legitur in *Decret. Dist. XI*, c. vii, 'Constitutiones ecclesiae quae in Bibliis scriptae non sunt, loco legis habentur a plebe, danque rudioribus bonam informationem.'

Exceptio M. Olai. Concedo interpretationem S. Patrum esse recipiendam, ubi non discedit a scripto verbo. Nam ibi non valet auctoritas Patrum, sed ipsius verbi Dei veritas infallibilis. In aliis constitutionibus Patrum a S. Scriptura dissentientibus, etiam nos discedimus ab illis. Hoc si non fieret, nulla esset differentia inter verbum Dei et decreta Patrum. Constat etiam antiquos patres tanquam homines errasse. . . . Ideo non opus est pluribus probare veritatem religionis non pendere ab interpretatione Patrum. . . . Probat D. Galle inutiliter quaedam obscura contineri in S. Scriptura. . . . Verbum Dei . . . in causa salutis ac religionis lucidum et clarum. Obscuritas dependet a contemptoribus Verbi. . . . Sic Verbum est obscurum . . . carnalibus, praesertim non renatis, qualis fuit ratio Aethiopis. . . . Ad 2^{am} partem *Responsionis* Galle de ritibus ecclesiae antiquitus institutis replico, posse facile concedi quaedam fuisse instituta ab apostolis et ecclesia primitiva quae scripta non sunt. Sed quis dicat Gallo quinam sint illi ritus, dum in ipsa Scriptura non habentur; aut quomodo probet hos ritus, de quibus controvertitur, esse eosdem apostolicos? Nec videmus necessarium esse ut sciamus quae fuerunt illa quae coram tractarunt apostoli Paulus cum Corinthiis, Iohannes cum Gaio, dum non extant scripta. Si illa fuissent ecclesiae scitu necessaria, certe legeremus scripta. Scimus aliqua remansisse, quae ab ecclesia primitiva erant constituta, vid. celebrare Diem Dominicum loco sabbati Iudaici . . . aliqua sunt mutata, ut iam videantur ex usu licita quae tunc erant prohibita, scil. esus sanguinis et suffocati. . . . Possunt quidem tales ritus, data occasione, recte mutari, cum ratio nostrae salutis in hisce non consistat. . . . Habentque singulae ecclesiae aliqua singularia quae alibi non servantur. Igitur rationes

D. Galle sunt frivolae, quibus praesumit probare ritus antiquitus observatos hodie non esse mutatos. . . .

Prop. II. An Christus dederit Papae, Episcopis ullisque Clericis ullum dominatum vel aliam quam potestatem praedicandi verbum Dei et administrandi sacramenta. Et num alii sint vocandi sacerdotes in ministerio Ecclesiae constituti quam qui hoc faciant.

Resp. D. Galle. Propositio continet duas partes. Christus dicit Matt. xviii [17], 'Si te non audierit, dic Ecclesiae praesulibus.' Hinc intelligimus datam esse potestatem Papae et Praelatis Ecclesiae iudicandi casus Ecclesiae, ordinandi necessaria et puniendi inobedientes. . . . Partem alteram Prop. explicant hi textus 1 Cor. xii [12 sqq.], Rom. xii [6 sqq.], Eph. iv [11 sqq.], ubi recensentur plura officia Ecclesiae. Unde probatur alios esse sacerdotes quam qui verbum Dei praedicant. . . . Sunt etiam in Ecclesia sancti qui continuis precibus pro Ecclesia Deum adorant. . . . Praestantissimum autem officium sacerdotis est consecrare corpus et sanguinem Christi, et offerre illud pro remissione peccatorum hominibus conferenda, quod monet Apostolus Heb. v [1]. Ergo plures sunt sacerdotes Ecclesiae utiles, quam qui praedicant verbum.

Exceptio M. Olai. Datam esse a Christo Apostolis et clericis potestatem legimus non quidem ad subigenda regna mundi sed ad convertendos peccatores et ad nuntiandam paenitentibus remissionem peccatorum. Dicit enim Christus Ioh. xviii [36] 'Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo'. . . . Vult ministros Ecclesiae se subiicere magistratui, non dominari. . . . Itaque decet eo magis servos Christi, praedicatores in Ecclesia eius, a domino saeculari alienissimos esse, teste Apostolo 1 Pet. v [2 sq.] 'Pascite gregem non ut domini'. Ergo praedicatio verbi Dei est proprium officium ministrorum Ecclesiae. Ad partem alteram Responsionis dico, Non inveniri sacerdotes Dei qui voluntate eius sunt constituti, nisi solos praedicatores verbi Dei. . . . Dum infert D. Galle . . . esse mandatum Christi et apostolorum ut sancti orent Horas Canonicas . . . velim libenter informari qua auctoritate observentur Horae Canonicae? . . . Septem Horae Canonicae coeperunt sola humana auctoritate, meritoque referuntur ad illa de quibus Christus Matt. xv [9] 'Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum'. Tractare sacramenta praesertim conficere corpus Christi in Eucharistia, dicit D. Galle, esse praecipuum sacerdotis officium. Iam constat tractationem sacramentorum fieri cum praedicatione verbi Dei, sine qua ignorat vulgus usum sacramentorum. Ergo praedicatio verbi

Dei . . . erit praecipuum sacerdotis officium. . . . Nusquam legitur Christum iussisse apostolos conficere corpus suum; sed nos Christiani iubemur uti instituta Sacra Coena in Christi commemorationem. Vult D. Galle probare ex textu Heb. v oblationem corporis Christi futuram in S. Coena pro remissione peccatorum hominibus conferenda. Sed abutitur verbis apostoli. Is enim loquitur de summo sacerdote Veteris Testamenti, qui erat typus sacerdotii Christi, non vero typus hodiernorum ministrorum ecclesiae. Cunque instituta sit S. Coena non ad sacrificandum sed ad manducandum ac bibendum idipsum obiectum quod Christus instituit, inde patet D. Gallen abutum institutione Christi tum verbis apostoli: 'Sufficit enim unica oblatio Christi in ara crucis iuxta Dei ordinationem oblatis, ut redimeret suo sacrificio propitiatorio totum genus humanum.' Concluditur igitur firmissime, praedicationem puri verbi esse praecipuum officium ministerii ecclesiae.

Prop. III. An decreta hominum obligent in conscientia, ut illorum praevaricator sit reus notorii peccati?

Resp. D. Galle. Decreta praelatorum ecclesiae, licet sint humana, qua ab hominibus constituta; tamen, dum ipsi sunt sancti qui propter salutem hominum talia ordinant, sunt illorum praecepta Dei mandata, ut dicitur Prov. viii [15] 'Per me iudicant iudices terrae'. . . . Hinc concludo decreta patrum esse constituta per Spiritum Sanctum ut nullus Christianus his repugnare debeat. Dicit enim Christus, 'Ubi duo aut tres conveniunt in nomine meo, sum in medio illorum.' Adest igitur Christus praelatis ecclesiae qui, in nomine eius congregati, decernunt utilia ecclesiae quae transgredi sine laesione conscientiae Christiani non possunt.

Exceptio M. Olai. . . . Distinguit D. Galle recte quidem inter decreta hominum piorum et aliorum: decreta illorum iudicat servanda quippe conformia verbo Dei, alias non essent salutaria. Per hanc distinctionem decretorum videtur D. Galle detrahare aliorum hominum decretis auctoritatem. Sed de his ipsis decretis praeter et contra Dei verbum sancitis quaestio est. His adimit Christus auctoritatem Matt. xv [6], et Apostolus dissuadet servitutem humanarum traditionum 1 Cor. vii, Col. ii [8]. . . . Quodsi ecclesia alligetur ad observationem decretorum papalium, quid faciendum Christiano homini dum haec decreta invicem dissentiant? Hoc saepe fieri testantur libri decretalium. Tam constat dissentientes non habere Spiritum Sanctum qui concordiam amat unamque viam salutis in verbo tradit. Ergo vana docet D. Galle dicens praelatos ecclesiae regi Spiritu S.

qui verbo Dei contraria decernunt. . . . Et quidem si finem decretorum papalium observamus, inveniuntur ipsa constituta ad confirmandam auctoritatem Papae Romani eiusque sociorum quos vocant praelatos ecclesiae ; non vero concernunt illa conservationem salutis credentium. Quare videmur in ea tempora incidisse quae Apostolus praedixit futura Act. xx [29] dicens : 'Post meum discessum ingrediuntur lupi rapaces.' His resistendum esse, eosque gladio Spiritus S. ceu scripto Dei verbo confodiendos S. Scriptura monet.

Prop. IV. An sit praelatis ecclesiae liberum excommunicare quemcunque volunt?

Resp. D. Galle. Eadem auctoritas praelatorum ecclesiae valet hoc loco, quae supra est probata, praesertim ex text. Matt. xviii.

Exceptio M. Olai. . . . Iam quaeritur, Num praelati possint excommunicare seu separare ab ecclesia eius viva membra, hoc est, segregare fidelem a Christo, qui in corde eius habitat, dicente Apostolo Eph. iii [17]. Atqui fidelis est templum Spiritus S.? Hoc simpliciter nego, quia solius est Dei *καρδιο-γνώστον* conservare fidelem et damnare infidelem, ut ait textus Deut. xxxii [39] 'Castigo et salvo, nec est qui iuvat.' Sunt enim vita et mors in manu Dei. Sicut episcopi et praelati non possunt absolute dare Spiritum S., ita neque possunt illum auferre, nedum ex filiis Dei facere per sese filios Gehennae. Potestas sancto ministerio data Matt. xviii [18], concernit annunciationem evangelii. . . . Nec respicit usus excommunicationis aliquod dominium saeculare aut potestatem instituendi nova dogmata fidei ; sed intendit piam disciplinam ecclesiae et ordinariam peccatorum correctionem. . . . Talem peccatorem ligat in suis peccatis ipse Deus, non homo. Sit itaque iusta excommunicatio opus Dei, quia iuxta mandatum . . . eius peragetur ; non erit actio nudi hominis, iuxta cuiusque arbitrium administranda. Sic fallit D. Galle tribuendo hominibus, praesertim praelatis ecclesiae, potestatem faciendi Christianos Satanae filios, ut ligatio seu excommunicatio Christiani hominis iuxta arbitrium praelatorum ecclesiae facta, valeat in caelo, et obliget conscientiam hominis, licet iniuste excommunicati. . . .

Propositio V. Utrum dominatus Papae eiusque sociorum placeat Deo, necne?

Resp. D. Galle. In verbis Christi Luc. xxii [26] . . . non prohibetur principatus, sed superbia : neque denegatur apostolis gubernatio ecclesiae neque eorum successoribus principatus ecclesiae ; sed tyrannica dominatio prohibetur, quae gentium

regibus frequens erat. Ex historiis et conciliis probatur Papam Romanum habuisse supremam in ecclesia potestatem, eumque esse principem ecclesiae ab omnibus fidelibus declaratum, idque voluntate Imperatorum et Regum, ante annos 1200, a tempore Papae Sylvestri fuisse approbatum. . . .

Exceptio M. Olai. . . . Verba Christi Luc. xxii explicantur ita Matt. xx [25-8] ut omnem plane dominationem apostolis adimant, perpetuumque ministerium ecclesiae illis imponant, exemplo Christi qui venit in mundum ut aliis serviret non dominaretur. . . . Dominatus Papae Romani est recentior tempore S. Gregorii; hic enim eiusmodi dominatui vehementer restitit. Falsum igitur est hunc dominatum praesulum Romanorum viguisse annos 1200. . . .

Propositio VI. An solus sit verus Dei cultus servare mandata Dei, aut simul servare mandata hominum?

Resp. D. Galle. Summa mandatorum Dei continentur decem praeceptis. . . . Primo praecepto continentur quae fidem Christianam concernunt et dilectionem Dei . . . promovent. Cultus autem Dei externus, qui fit vocali oratione, debitis horis, psalmodia iuxta ecclesiae institutionem observanda,—item iubemur celebrare sabbatum, purgari aqua lustrali, audire missam, conciones, flectere genua, percutere pectus, incendere candelas, et alia sacra peragere: totus hic cultus praecipitur tertio praecepto. . . . Ergo verus cultus Dei est servare praecepta primae tabulae.

Exceptio M. Olai. Verissimum est quidem cultum Dei consistere in observatione mandatorum Dei; sed habet ecclesia duplicia mandata, quae dicuntur coniunctim spectare cultum Dei. Unum genus mandatorum est a Deo praeceptum, idque verum cultum respicit et consistit in dilectione Dei et proximi. . . . Alterum genus praeceptorum, quod cultum Dei concernit, est ab hominibus institutum, scil. canere laudes Dei horis canonicis, ieiunare certis temporibus, peregrinari ad loca sancta. . . . Nec possunt comprehendi sub tertio praecepto Decalogi illa praecepta humana quae D. Galle in sua *Responsione* inducit, quasi Deus praecepisset audire missam, cantare horas canonicas, &c., quod nunquam probatur.

Propositio VII. Utrum homo salvetur meritis suis, an sola gratia Dei?

Resp. D. Galle. Dispositio hominis pii, ut bona opera faciat, venit a Deo qui donat homini renato gratiam bene operandi, mediante libero suo arbitrio, ut mereatur mercedem promissam. Sic verum est Apostoli dictum: 'Gratia salvamur et donum Dei est vita aeterna'. . . .

Exceptio M. Olai. . . . Constat gratuitam esse nostram salutem; nequaquam autem ex operibus meritoriam. . . . Videtur mecum consentire D. Galle. Quare plura non addam. Sin vero consideraret is quid sequatur ex hac concessione, non quaereret salutem in operibus humanis, scil. indulgentiis, fraternitatibus, horis canonicis, peregrinationibus, &c. Quae opera nullam habent promissionem mercedis.

Propositio VIII. An vita monastica possit e S. Scriptura probari?

Resp. D. Galle. . . . Cum dixisset Christus iuveni Matt. xix. [21] 'Si vis perfectus esse, vende quae habes et da pauperibus et sequere me'; factum ergo est successu temporis ut multi Christiani eligerent voluntariam paupertatem, in perpetuo viventes coelibatu, sicut dixit Christus eodem cap. 'Sunt quidam castrati pro regno caelorum' [xix. 12]. Obedientiam praecepit etiam Christus Matt. xvi. [24] dicens, 'Si quis sequatur me, abneget seipsum ferendo crucem suam et patris voluntatem implendo.' In his tribus, scil. paupertate, coelibatu, et obedientia, consistit ipsa vita monastica. . . . Vita monastica ultra mille annos fuit in usu ecclesiae. . . .

Exceptio M. Olai. Vita monastica neque probatur V. T. neque N., quod constanter affirmo. Tempore Apostolorum nulli fuerunt monachi. . . . Planeque nescivit ecclesia primis 200 annis vitam monasticam. . . . Fuerunt monasteria pie scholae e quibus egredi liceret . . . tantum aberat ut aliquis tunc includeretur claustro, iuxta morem ecclesiae papalis. In illis monasteriis vivebant tunc laici, non clerici aut sacerdotes; illique laici sustentabant se opere manuum suarum, neminem onerantes. . . . Postea . . . dederunt reges et divites praedia magnasque possessiones, quippe informati a monachis hoc opus esse Deo gratissimum et datoribus salutare. Ex his donis facta est vita monastica lautissima, et desiit paupertas monachorum, qui postea noluerunt quaerere victum laboribus manuum suarum. Post an. 1200 coeperunt ordines mendicantium fraudibus addictorum. . . . Textus Matt. xix non potest applicari hodiernis monachis, qui omnia sua trahunt secum in monasteria: tantum abest ut omnia relinquunt.¹ . . . Imo monasteria non habuerunt olim eundem quem habent hodie usum: neque retinent ipsa verum finem, propter quem sunt instituta, et quem servarunt ante annos 900.

Propositio IX. Num liceat ulli homini mutare institutionem Christi in Sacra Coena?

¹ Olus makes no such retort in regard to Galle's quotation of Matt. xix. 12.

Resp. D. Galle. Christus quidem instituit omnia sacramenta, datque solus virtutem et efficaciam sacramentis. . . . Ad distributionem sacramentorum necessarii sunt ministri ecclesiae, quibus multa sunt praescripta in gestibus ac verbis observanda quae ad sacramentorum administrationem sunt necessaria. Quanquam essentialia sacramenti debeant a Christo institutore, tamen quae excitant reverentiam sacramentis debitam, tam a parte distribuentis quam a parte utentis iisdem, illa habent originem vel ab apostolis vel a primitiva ecclesia: quae nolunt abrogata Christiani qui debitam ecclesiae obedientiam deferre sciunt. Sic manet ordinatio Missae quam ecclesia instituit dignis ceremoniis, loco debito, decorisque vestibus &c. celebrandam.

Exceptio M. Olai. Verbum Dei manet in aeternum: nec decet quemquam mortalium mutare quod Christus iussit servandum. Prohibemur etenim aliquid verbo Dei addere, aut quicquam ei detrahare: inde sequitur evidenter nulli creaturae licitum esse institutionem Christi in S. Coena mutare. Quicquid pertinet ad huius sacramenti veritatem, tam in esse quam in usu servandum, illud totum est a Christo institutum. Sic enim sonant verba Evangelistarum Matt. xxvi. [26], Luc. xxii. [19, 20]. . . . Hic legimus mandatum Christi ut edamus corpus eius cum pane, et bibamus sanguinem eius cum vino idque in eius commemorationem ad confirmandam fidem nostram, quod simus redempti oblatione corporis Christi et effusione sanguinis eius. Hoc et non alio aliquo fine institutum esse hoc sacramentum scimus. D. Galle concedit essentialia S. Coenae non esse mutanda; quis ergo dedit Papae Rom. potestatem separandi in usu S. Coenae calicem a pane? Fatebitur D. Galle hoc fecisse Papam cum suis, tanquam servos Christi infideles verosque antichristos. Si dicat in corpore esse sanguinem, respondeo, Hoc non infringit Christi institutionem, qui sapientior est cunctis papis et praelatis. Nec dieat papista panem esse hoc totum sacramentum. Nec voluit Christus S. Coenam aliter dispensandam esse clericis aliter laicis. Respondeant etiam papistae qua auctoritate fecerint ex hoc sacramento sacrificium. Non dixit Christus, 'Accipite et sacrificate,' sed 'comedite'. Unicum sacrificium Christi propitiatorium sufficit, evacuans omnia sacrificia V. T. Sacrificulus papisticus non potest offerre corpus Christi in S. Coena absque contemptu sacrificii Christi in ara crucis oblato: quin potius crucifigit Christum de novo, more impiorum Heb. vi. [6]. Hinc constat Papam Rom. mutasse

essentialia S. Coenae, idque fine pessimo dum is corradit opes et oblationes plurimas ex opera sacrificuli offerentis Christum in Missa pro redemptione mortui in purgatorio existentis: vultque religio papistica hanc Missam ita iterandam esse sicut augeri poterit pecunia, iuxta facultates demortui, pro redemptione animae eius, numeranda sacrificulo. Haec pecunia et copiosae oblationes minuerentur fisco Papae Rom. si verus usus S. Coenae in ecclesia eius maneret.

Propositio X. Num expectentur novae apparitiones praeter eas quae in Bibliis habentur?

Resp. D. Galle. Revelationes quae fiunt et factae sunt, dicuntur recte patefactiones secretorum Dei. . . . Leguntur itaque multae apparitiones factae ad revelationem secretorum Dei. . . . Apparitiones paucis recensere non possum, quia indies novae visuntur. Augustinus scribit Cyrillo archiepiscopo Ierusal. animam S. Hieronymi sibi apparuisse die quo discesserat corpore. Hanc apparitionem veram et divinam fuisse nemo pius negabit; est enim auctoritas Augustini omnibus nota. Adhuc facta est apparitio discipulo Hieronymi Eusebio, anno post mortem huius tertio, dum coepit haeresis negans purgatorium . . . et articulum purgatorii hoc modo confirmatum legimus. . . . Hae apparitiones quia certissimae sunt, licet non in Bibliis scriptae, patet alias esse credendas apparitiones quam Biblicas. Tanta est auctoritas ecclesiae quae has apparitiones acceptat ut fidem Christianis conciliet, dicente Aug. contra Epist. Fund. c. 5, 'Evangelio non crederem, nisi me commoveret ecclesiae auctoritas.'¹ Concludo igitur apparitiones esse credendas quae non adversantur fidei et Scripturae. . . .

Exceptio M. Olai. . . . Ecclesia Dei, in doctrina Prophetarum et Apostolorum fundata, non indiget novis apparitionibus, cum sufficiat ad cognitionem salutis ipsum revelatum a Deo et in S. Scriptura traditum verbum. . . . Concludit igitur bene D. Galle solas eas esse accipiendas apparitiones, quae non adversantur verbo Dei ac fidei. Iam inveniuntur in exemplis allatis quae verbo Dei conformia non sunt. Prohibemur in verbo Dei Deut. xviii. [11] quaerere a mortuis veritatem. . . . Nec fuit anima S. Hieronymi quae dicitur apparuisse Augustino; non enim promittit Deus animas piorum apparere viventibus in verbi Dei contemptum; et quidem, si purgatorium dicatur articulus fidei, debet utique probari S. Scriptura seu verbo Dei, non autem miraculo S. Scripturae contrario. . . .

Propositio XI. An probetur purgatorium ex S. Scriptura?

¹ *Contra epist. Manichaei*, § 6.

Resp. D. Galle. . . . Ecclesia definivit hunc articulum ex S. Scriptura, veris apparitionibus, S. doctoribus, usuque primitivae ecclesiae. . . . Igitur ecclesia recte orat pro mortuis, recteque instituit Missas pro illorum liberatione de purgatorio. Quanquam plura sint quae iuvant mortuum, tamen praecipuum auxilium est sacrificium Missae, quod respiciens Deus mitigat poenas demortui pro cuius liberatione offertur sacrificium. Cumque nullum impurum ingrediatur coelum, purificantur salvandi in purgatorio, remissis peccatis venialibus pro quibus non satisfecerunt poenis temporalibus subiecti. Sic iustitia Dei fundavit purgatorium.

Exceptio M. Olai. In tota Scriptura non invenitur textus qui probat purgatorium esse. . . . Articulus purgatorii repugnat fiducia salutis in Christo fundatae, qui pro omnibus peccatis omnium hominum satisfecit. . . . Videtur etiam cura ventris, non dilectio proximi, hunc constituisse articulum. Nam laborat sacrificulus, Missas pro redemptione animae de purgatorio celebrans, magis in colligenda pecunia sub Missae officio oblata, quam in studio liberandi de purgatorio animam. Sic purgatorium ex S. Scriptura non probatur.

Propositio XII. An sancti sint invocandi, et num ipsi sint nostri defensores, patroni et commediatores coram Deo?

Resp. D. Galle. Res causaque ab omnibus approbata non venit in dubitationem hominum. Sancta ecclesia pollet ea auctoritate ut eius consuetudo, fides et decreta sine disputatione vulgo approbentur. Cumque nullum fuerit in ecclesia dubium sanctos esse invocandos, mirum est inveniri homines Christianos qui hunc articulum negare ausint. Sancti sunt membra Christi, itaque honorandi: tamen minus quam illa honorentur quae ad ipsum Christum spectant, ut sunt crux, corona, clavi et plures eius reliquiae. Non honorantur sancti tanquam per se dantes gratiam Dei, sed tanquam illius participes et regni coelorum concives, ideoque sunt in conspectu Dei nostri opitulatores. Abraham adoravit¹ angelos sibi apparentes. Sic Cornelius S. Petrum.² Docetque S. Paulus Christianos, ut conversationem mutuo honore colant.³ Cum iam demortui sancti sint commediatores et intercessores nostri apud Christum, digni sunt qui honorentur. Non equidem fiat, quasi Deus sit impotens aut minime benevolus ad iuvandum, nisi sanctorum intercessionem commoveatur: sed quia ita ordinavit fierique hoc voluit, ut auctoritas sanctorum inde claresceret et Deus in illis adoraretur. Sic enim Apostolus Rom. xiv: 'Omnia recte

¹ Gen. xviii. 2.

² Acts x. 25.

³ Rom. xii. 10.

ordinavit Deus.' Quod conspicitur in eius regimine, dum per superiores et spirituales creaturas sive angelos regit inferiores carnales, non propter impotentiam per sese regendi sed propter servandum ordinem. Sic regit inferiores homines per superiores in terra, quod probatur multis exemplis tam in V. quam in N. T. Promisit Deus se moderaturum poenam Iudaeorum per patriarcharum Abrahami, Isaaci et Iacobi, tunc in limbo existentium, deprecationem, certeque propter merita illorum. Quod factum esse non dubitatur. Cum itaque respiciat Deus orationes sanctorum pro aliis institutas, deberi ipsis invocationem sequitur.

Exceptio M. Olai. Scriptura neque affirmat neque negat sanctos demortuos esse honorandos. Cultum autem soli Deo debitum, veramque invocationem nulli creaturae posse concedi certum est. Iubet Scriptura laudandum esse Deum in omnibus creaturis et operibus suis; sed laudatur in sanctis cum sanctitatem illorum a Deo formatam praedicamus, illamque aemulando talem nobis a Deo dari rogamus. Itaque sancti non in se sed in Deo honorantur, et dum illorum sanctitatem in exemplum trahimus, sanctos recte honorari videmus. Adversarii nostri colligunt, ex sanctitate piorum demortuorum, eosdem esse nostros patronos ac intercessores apud Deum. Sed contrarium docet Scriptura, quae solum Christum constituit nobis mediatorem 1 Tim. ii [5]. . . . Dum mediatoris officium detrahimus cum S. Scriptura ipsis sanctis, non propterea negamus sanctos in coelo triumphantes rogare pro statu ecclesiae militantis. Aliud est mediatorem agere inter Deum et homines; aliud vero pro necessitate proximi Deo supplicare. . . . Adfert D. Galle non esse dubitandum de invocatione sanctorum, quia eam diu usurpavit ecclesia. Sed non dubium est nos diu satis deceptos esse astu praelatorum ecclesiae et monachorum, unde seducti sunt Christiani a fide in unicum mediatorem. Peperit enim monachi et sanctulis illis magnas opes haec praesumpta fides in sanctorum intercessione fundata, quam docuerunt illi Christianos simplices tenere iuxtaque illam comparare sibi magno pretio reliquias sanctorum. Quaerimus autem iure, An doctrina de intercessione sanctorum sit vera? Sat diu credidimus praelatis ecclesiae sine Scriptura definientibus. Non negamus sanctos esse honorandos modo definito, non tamen censemus illos esse invocandos ut mediatores. . . . D. Galle dicit ad Christi mortis salutarem fructum pertinere eius crucem, coronam, clavos, forte restim qua ligabatur, flagella et pelvim aceto plenam. Sic vult maiori honore haec tractanda et sacro cultui dicanda quam

honorentur ipsi sancti Dei. Etiam hodie praebeant multi maiorem reverentiam imaginibus pictis et sculptis quam ipsis sanctis. Estne hoc contemnere ipsos sanctos? Quod sancti viventes rogassent Deum exaudire preces suas causa sanctorum Abrahami, Isaaci, Iacobi, non certe adorarunt illos; sed commonefecerunt Deum suae promissionis patribus factae, iuxta quam promissionem in oratione repetitam crediderunt Deum citius illorum preces exauditurum. Hinc constat invocationem sanctorum ex S. Scriptura non posse probari.

Haec est simplex mea resolutio propositarum quaestionum. . . Si praelati ecclesiae hac responsione offendantur, sciant omnes palmam esse veritati dandam.

XXVII

THE SPREAD OF REFORM WITHIN THE EMPIRE,

1523-5

The deadlock in the Diet, which Campeggio had turned to account for his own side, offered equal opportunity to the reformers. The towns, and particularly the Free Cities of the Empire (§)—at this time 84 in number,¹ 32 being in Swabia—took shelter (cf. *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, ap. Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum Ecclesiarum Reformatarum*, 745) under its decree (p. 112 *supra*) of 5 Feb. 1523, that 'nihil praeter . . . sincerum evangelium' should be taught, and began openly to recognize their preachers.

These had been drawn from (1) the four orders of Friars, as (a) Lütther's own, the Augustinians (Ranke, *Ref.* 277, ed. R. A. Johnson, 1905), Lang in Erfurt, 1521; Henry of Zütphen in ‡ Bremen, 1522-4; Link, pastor in Altenburg, 1522-5; Güttel, in Eisleben, 1523; Stiefel, in ‡ Esslingen, 1525; (b) the Franciscans, Eberlin of Günzburg and Henry of Kettenbach in ‡ Ulm, 1521-2; Kempe in ‡ Hamburg, 1523; Briessmann—see his sermon (Seckendorf, *Comm. de Lutheranism*, i. 272)—in [No. 76] Cottbus and Königsberg, 1523; F. Myconius, pastor in Gotha, 1524; (c) the Dominicans, Butzer, pastor in ‡ Strassburg, 1524-46; (d) the Carmelites, Urbanus Regius in ‡ Augsburg, 1520-1; from (2) the Monks, as the Benedictines, Blaurer in ‡ Constance 1522-32, and Oecolampadius in ‡ Augsburg, 1519-20, and ‡ Basel, 1522-†31; from (3) the Canons Regular, as the Premonstratensians, Bugenhagen, pastor in Wittenberg 1522-†58, and organizer of the Lutheran ecclesiastical system in Lower Germany; from (4) the secular clergy, Osiander in ‡ Nürnberg, 1522; Brenz, pastor in ‡ Schwäbisch Hall, 1522-46; Speratus in Wittenberg, 1523, and in Königsberg with Amandus, 1524; Amsdorf—see the circumstances of his appointment (Seckendorf, i. 246) and cf. Ranke, *ut sup.* 666 sqq.—in [No. 77] Magdeburg, 1524, and Sahn in Ulm, 1524.

¹ According to the matricular list of the Diet of Worms, 1521.

Thus reform prevailed by the decision of the townsmen in 1523 at ‡ Frankfurt on the Main, ‡ Schwäbisch Hall and Magdeburg; in 1524 at ‡ Ulm, ‡ Strassburg, ‡ Bremen, and ‡ Nürnberg (cf. Gieseler, V. 293). 'In most of the towns of [North] Germany' . . . we see preachers arise, the Lutheran hymns become popular, and the congregations take part in religious questions; the Council at first makes a greater or less resistance, but at length gives way' (Ranke, *ut sup.* 668). So in the south, as at Nürnberg. Here the leaders of reform were George Bessler, Provost of S. Sebald, 1521-33; Hector Böhmer, Provost of S. Laurence, 1521-†41; Wolfgang Volprecht, Prior of the Augustinians, †1528; and Andrew Osiander, 1498-†1522, preacher at S. Laurence from 1522. In Holy Week, 1523, their congregations asked the Provosts for Communion in Both Kinds. The Provosts referred them to the Town Council, and the Council to the Ordinary, Weigand von Redwitz, Bishop of Bamberg, 1522-†56. Next year, 1524, the Council was strong enough to support [No. 78] **the changes introduced at Easter** by the Prior and others in spite of Legate and Diet there assembled (Spalatin's diary *ap.* Strobel, *Miscellaneen*, iii. 52). At Whitsuntide, further changes in public worship led to [No. 79] **the citation of the Provosts and the Prior** by the Bishop, 12 Sept. 1524, and finally to their excommunication (see the *Sententia Definitiva*, *ib.* 73).

No. 76. A sermon of Jo. Briessmann at Cottbus, 1523.

Iuxta fidem etiam caritatem proximi docui, quae ex fide oritur, ut fructus ex arbore. Impossibile enim est, ut fides absque dilectione proximi maneat. Sicut enim cordiali fiducia per fidem vivam Deus amatur, ita et in proximum amor nascitur, ut ei verbo et opere, auctoritate, opibus, immo corpore et vita serviamus. Hoc enim est praeceptum Christi, Ioh. xiii. 34, 'Mandatum novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos,' &c. O quam altam nobis metam Christus praefixit! 'In hoc cognoscent omnes, quia discipuli mei estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem.' Novum est mandatum quod non terret et conturbat homines sed ostendit quid novi homines, qui absque operibus per fidem iustificati sunt, facere debeant, amare nempe proximum absque coactione legis ex affectu intimo cordis. Dum itaque haec puncta docui, fidem et caritatem coniunxi; nequeunt enim separari, nec fieri potest ut fides non continuo ad honorem et gloriam Dei et proximi commoda operetur. Sicut enim per fidem in Christum intras et per Christum ad Deum, ita per amorem exire debes ex Christo ad proximum tuum, ut illi beneficias, servias, consulas,

opem feras omnibus viribus, sicut tibi fecit Christus; dicit itaque Ioh. x. 9, 'Ego sum ostium,' &c.

Haec est Brismanni haeresis . . . fatetur autem in hac ipsa concione 'se per annos duodecim in Theologiae Scholasticae rixis demersum Evangelio vehementer restitisse, donec miseratori Deo placuerit, ut ex sophismatum coeno illum educeret.'

No. 77. The proceedings at Magdeburg, 1524.

Supplenda est historia de reformatione amplissimae urbis ex Archivo Vinariensi. . . . Cives d. 23 Iunii in coenobio Augustinianorum cum septem concionatoribus congregati, articulos Senatui proponunt, poscentes praedicationem verbi Dei absque traditionibus hominum et commentis rationis,¹ usum sacrae Coenae sub utraque,¹ cessationem sacrificii Missatici,¹ et ut fundationum redditus ad aerarium ecclesiasticum, ad exemplum Norimbergensium instituendum, deputarentur. Sacerdotibus alimenta ad vitae tempora offerunt, ut et monachis qui, facta abeundi potestate, manere tamen velint, sed ita ut vestes et hypocritica caetera deponerent, et in Evangelica doctrina instrui se paterentur. Matrimonia permitti postulant iis ex clero qui continentiam servare non possint, omnia officia pastoralia gratis expediri volunt, et mendicos extraneos arceri. Senatus ista omnia admisit, missoque Legato, Nicolao Sturmio consule, et quodam senatore, litteras d. 23 Iulii ad Electorem scripsit, quas ita exorditur:—'Invictum et aeternum verbum Christi, quod hucusque umbra veluti obscuratum fuit, nunc sole clarius (laus sit Deo) ad salutem et solatium peccatorum, ad animarum felicitatem et sempiternam gloriam Dei, maxime in urbe Celsitudinis Tuae Electoralis Wittenberga, ex omnipotentis Dei virtute et efficacia exortum est et pure ac liquide praedicatur,' &c. Narrant inde, ut parochiani ad D. Ulrici, immo tota civitas, magnam fiduciam de L. Nicolao Amsdorfio conceperint, et per illum magis magisque edoceri et salubriter se pasci posse sperent; petunt igitur illi permitti, ut vel uno anno verbum Dei apud se docere et caeteris concionatoribus praeesse possit; sed et ut redditus in collegiata Wittenbergensi Ecclesia retineat. Elector missos ex Senatu et a parochianis ipse tunc non audivit, excusans quod Legati Ferdinandi Regis adessent: potestatem tamen Magdeburgum sese conferendi Amsdorfio id

¹ With these compare the first three articles of the parishioners of St. John and St. Ulrich, 14 July 1524, printed (cf. Ranke, *Ref.* 666) in Hahn, *Collectio Monumentorum*, ii. 463 sq.

petenti fecit, et Canonicatus sui redditus ad annum concessit, addita adhortatione, ut contra seditiones concionaretur. . . .

No. 78. The proceedings at Nürnberg, 1524.

Augustiniani Nurnbergenses die resurrectionis dominicae, ut mihi Prior eorum Volfgangus Volprechtus scripsit, ultra 3000 homines toto sacramento communicaverunt, utcumque frementibus Ferdinando, Episcopis, Cardinale Legato, Pharisaeis. Ex Ferdinandi aulicis plus minus 30 vel 40 et ipsi totum sacramentum ab Augustinianis acceperunt. Nurnbergae Mandatum omisum. Palmae non consecratae. Crucifixi effigies sepulchro non est imposita. Nec positum sepulchrum. Neque azyma neque ignes consecrati. Sed ne asinus quidem palmarius circumvectus est Nurnbergae, quamvis episcopo Bambergensi, ut loci ordinario, iubente, ut nihil antiquae consuetudinis contemneretur. Nonnulli etiam ex Regimine Imperiali sub utraque specie communicaverunt. Evangelistae Nurnbergenses multo fortius pro concione detonant praesentibus quam absentibus Papae creaturis, Legato Card. Campeggio, Io. Fabro Constant.¹, Io. Eccio, Cochlaeo².

Minoritanus concionator, Nurnbergae Senatus auctoritate, iussus est tacere posthac, ut ausus in Quadragesima praedicare Christum pro originali et actualibus tantum ante se patratissimum: nam peccata post passionem Christi facta bonis operibus nostris redimenda esse: item, confessionem auricularem ab apostolis institutam esse.

Nihil promovit Legatus Senatui de evangelistis conquestus.

Reliquias suas Nurnbergenses non amplius, ut hactenus, ostentabant.

No. 79. Articles of the Bishop of Bamberg, relative to the proceedings at Nürnberg.

Articles inquired of by the Bishop of Bamberg from the two Provosts, and the Prior of the Augustinians, at Nürnberg, when they were cited by him, together with the answer of the Provosts and the Prior, 12 Sept. 1524.

(1) Q. Whether they believe and confess all the articles of the holy Christian Faith?

A. Yes: we believe all the articles of the Christian Faith.

(2) Q. Whether they are the pastors of their several churches,

¹ Johann Faber, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Constance, 1518, Bishop of Vienna 1530-1541.

² Johann Cochlaeus (Dobeneck), 1479-1552

serve them in person, and administer the sacraments themselves or through their assistants?

A. We rule our churches and administer the sacraments ourselves in company with our assistants.

(3) *Q.* Whether they administer, or suffer to be administered, to all laymen the sacrament both of the body and of the blood of Christ?

A. To all who desire it, we administer the entire sacrament as Christ ordained it and as our conscience also requires us to administer it.

(4) *Q.* Whether all who receive the sacrament are exhorted to confession and repentance of all sins?

A. We exhort no one to auricular confession: but we allow our assistants to give a Christian exhortation before the reception of the sacrament, regardless of whether a man makes his private confession or not.

(5) *Q.* Why they have changed the long-standing usage of the Mass by having Gospel and Epistle read in German?

A. We have Gospel and Epistle read in German, and (the Prior) I have the whole Mass in German, so that the bystanders may understand.

(6) *Q.* Why they baptize children in German, and omit the established custom of the Church?

A. We baptize children in our own tongue and have not hitherto omitted any ancient custom.

(7) *Q.* Whether they have themselves, or through their assistants, taught the people that the sacrament of unction ought not to be administered?

A. When the sick have asked for unction, we have had it administered to them: but we have neither enjoined nor forbidden it.

(8) *Q.* Whether they have forbidden or suffered to be forbidden Vigils, Masses and Years'-minds to be celebrated for the departed?

A. We have given up holding Vigils and Masses for the dead: and if a person desires such, we decline to permit it.

(9) *Q.* Whether they admit marriages which are lawfully forbidden; and grant divorce on their own authority?

A. What is forbidden by God in the third book of Moses, we do not admit; but as to what is forbidden of man, while we grant no divorce, we admit it always, if they require it. Further, we grant no divorce in the case of a lawful marriage; since what God hath joined together, man may not put asunder.

(10) *Q.* Whether they keep the hours of prayer, according to the ordinances of the bishopric of Bamberg?

A. We do not pray according to the Bishop's ordinances but according to the devotion of our heart.

(11) *Q.* Whether they forbid men to keep the fasts and feasts of the saints according to ancient custom?

A. On Sunday we have the days announced but not enjoined. We allow some feasts, and the eating of such things as we have, with discrimination.

(12) *Q.* Whether they believe that, where a Council has once been rightly assembled, in things pertaining to the Faith and the interpretation of Holy Scripture, men are under obligation to obey it?

A. Where an entire Council decrees anything relating to the Christian faith according to the tenor of the simple and pure word of God, we hold that we are bound to be more obedient to the word of God than to men. Where, however, they forbid anything, contrary to holy Scripture, one is under no obligation to obey.

(13) *Q.* Whether they were ordained priest according to the order of the Church?

A. We were. The Prior said, Alas! God have mercy on us!

(14) *Q.* Whether they admit themselves to be under the Bishop's jurisdiction?

A. We have no lord but God only: but for His sake we submit ourselves to all creatures, particularly in that which befalls us contrary to God's Word or against our conscience.

(15) *Q.* Why they withdraw from the ancient custom of the Church; and, in answer to his Grace's admonition at ordination, gave but a formal promise?

A. We confess that we have promised to obey your Grace at our receiving of Orders, but we call the word of God to witness that bids and commands us to do otherwise.

(16) *Q.* Why they did not, before changing and altering such customs of the Church, ask his Grace's permission?

A. We did approach your Grace before making any change, particularly in regard to Communion in Both Kinds, as also the letters sent to your Grace notify. Your Grace replied that we must make no change till the coming Council. But as the Council is still unheld, and is probably put off for a considerable time, we have changed the ancient customs of the Church and ordered them after the Word of God, since we are bound to obey God rather than man.

XXVIII

THE WEAKENING OF THE REFORMATION,

1524-5

The progress of reform, beyond the Empire or within, had scarcely begun when, by the events of 1524-5, it was seriously checked:—

I. By the secession of the Humanists a breach had for some time been imminent, as appears from [No. 80] **letters of Luther** to Oecolampadius 20 June 1523 (de Wette, ii. 352) and of **Erasmus** to Zwingli 31 Aug. (*Zwinglii Opera*, VII. i. 308, ed. Schüler and Schultess, 1830). A request from Henry VIII caused Erasmus to open it with a treatise, which he commended to the King in a [No. 81] **letter** of 6 Sept. 1524 (ep. 702, *Erasmii Opera*, Tom. III, Pars i, col. 816, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1703), entitled [No. 82] **De Libero Arbitrio** (*Op.* ix, col. 1215 sqq.). Luther's reply, delayed by the Peasants' War, appeared in the *De Servo Arbitrio* (*Op. Lat.* vii. 113 sqq.) of Dec. 1525, and he re-affirmed its unqualified determinism as late as 1537 (de Wette, v. 70).

II. By the Peasants' War (see Ranke, *Ref.* 334 sqq., ed. Johnson), social discontent of long standing, gathering fresh impetus from the religious teaching of such exiles from Saxony as Carlstadt in Franconia and T. Münzer in Swabia and Thuringia, broke out first on 24 Aug. 1524 at Waldshut in the Black Forest. By the winter of 1524-5 the peasants were masters of Upper Germany, claiming freedom for 'all whom God Almighty had made free in Christ his Son'. They put out the less radical of their demands, March 1525, in [No. 83] **the Twelve Articles** (text in Böhmer, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges*. [Lietzmann, *Kleine Texte*, Nos. 50, 51] Bonn, 1910; cf. *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, vol. II, No. vi. 25 sqq., Philadelphia, Pa.): and Luther, after vain attempts at mediation, 19 April, when it was already too late, in his *Ermahnung zum Frieden auf die XII Artikel der Bauernschaft in Schwaben* (Walch, xvi. 58 sqq.), threw himself, in May, on to the side of the temporal rulers with a violent pamphlet, entitled, *Wider die mörderischen und räuberischen Rotten der Bauern* (Walch, xvi. 90 sqq.). They took him at his word; and the reforming princes, John Elector of Saxony, 1525-†32, and Philip Landgrave of Hesse, 1518-167, united with the Catholic Dukes George of Saxony, 1500-†39, and Henry of Brunswick, 1514-168, to crush the peasants at Frankenhausen, 15 May 1525. But it was both for the temporal sovereigns and for the Pope 'a victory over the Lutherans'; resulting in 'the divorce of the Reformation from popular sympathies, and its delivery into the hands of the Princes' (Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, 200).

III. By the death of the Elector Frederick, 5 May 1525.

IV. By Luther's marriage, 13 June 1525, to Catherine von Bora, an apostate nun. To his friends, as in [No. 84] **Melanchthon's**

letter to Camerarius (*Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und historischen Classe der k.-b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, Jahrgang 1876, 601), this was no less an occasion for dismay than for ridicule to [No. 85] Erasmus in a letter on the marriage of Oecolampadius, 1527 (Ep. 951, *Op.* III. i. 1071).

V. By the victory of Pavia, 24 Feb. 1525; and, 14 Jan. 1526, [No. 86] the Treaty of Madrid, which united Charles and Francis 'against heretics who have severed themselves from the bosom of the holy Church' (Art. 26 in Du Mont, *Corps diplomatique*, IV. i. 405).

No. 80. Letters of Luther and Erasmus, 1523.

(1) *Luther to Oecolampadius*, 20 June.—Quid Erasmus in rerum spiritualium iudicio sentiat aut simulet, testantur eius libelli abunde, tam primi quam novissimi. Ego etsi aculeos eius alicubi sentio, tamen quia simulat se non esse hostem palam, simulo et ego me non intelligere suas astutias, quamquam penitius intelligatur quam ipse credat. Ipse fecit ad quod ordinatus fuit. Linguas introduxit, et a sacrilegis studiis revocavit. Forte et ipse cum Mose in campestribus Moab morietur: nam ad meliora studia (quod ad pietatem pertinet) non provehit. Vellemque mirum in modum abstinere ipsum a tractandis Scripturis . . . , quod non sit par istis officiis, et lectores frustra occupat et moratur in Scripturis discendis. Satis fecit, quod malum ostendit: at bonum ostendere (ut video) et in terram promissionis ducere non potest. Sed quid ego de Erasmo tam multa? nisi ut illius nomine et auctoritate nihil movearis atque adeo gaudeas, si quid ei displicere sentias in re ista Scripturarum, ut qui vel non possit vel non velit de iis recte iudicare; sicut paene totus iam orbis incipit de eo sentire.

(2) *Erasmus to Zwingli*, 31 Aug.—Lutherus proponit quaedam aenigmata in speciem absurda: omnia opera sanctorum esse peccata, quae indigent ignoscente Dei misericordia; liberum arbitrium esse nomen inane; sola fide iustificari hominem, opera nihil ad rem facere. De his contendere, quomodo velit intelligi Lutherus, non video quem fructum afferat. Deinde video in plerisque illi addictis miram pervicaciam; et in Lutheri scriptis quantum maledicentiae, saepe praeter rem. Ista me cogunt subdubitare de spiritu illorum, quem ob causam cui faveo velim esse sincerum. . . . Ego florentissimam regionem [Brabant] reliqui ne miscrerer negotio Pharisaico: nam alia lege non licuisset illic vivere. . . . Satis admonui Episcopos, satis Principes vel in libello de Principe, homo nullius auctoritatis. Quid me velles facere praeterea?

Etiam si vitam contemnerem, non video quid esset insuper faciendum. Tu in nonnullis dissentis a Luthero. Dissentit et Oecolampadius. An ego propter illius doctrinam obiiciam me meosque libros periculis? Omnia recusavi quae mihi hoc nomine offerebantur, ut adversus illum scriberem. A Pontifice, a Caesare, a Regibus et Principibus, a doctissimis etiam et carissimis amicis huc provoco. Et tamen certum est aut non scribere aut ita scribere ut mea scriptio non sit placitura Pharisaeis. . . . Lutherus scripsit ad Oecolampadium mihi non multum esse tribuendum in his quae sunt Spiritus. Velim hoc discere, doctissime Zwingli, quis sit ille Spiritus? Nam videor mihi fere omnia docuisse quae docet Lutherus, nisi quod non tam atrociter, quodque abstinui a quibusdam aenigmatibus et paradoxis. . . .

**No. 81. Letter of Erasmus to Henry VIII,
6 Sept. 1524.**

Invictissime Rex, non ignorabam quam essem ineptus arenae gladiatoriae, semper in amoenissimis Musarum hortis versatus. Sed quid non audeam tuae felicissimae Maiestatis fretus auspiciis? Iacta est alea. Exiit in lucem libellus *De libero arbitrio*; audax, mihi crede, facinus, ut nunc res habent Germaniae. Exspecto lapidationem, et iam nunc aliquot rabiosi libelli provolarunt in caput meum. Sed consolabor meipsum exemplo Maiestatis tuae, cui non parcat istorum immanitas. Decretum erat et alioqui facere ad quod per literas hortaris, et religioni Christianae iuvandae immori; sed tamen alacrior id faciam, posteaquam tua Maiestas currenti, quod aiunt, calcar addere dignata est, cui precor felicitatem perpetuam.

No. 82. Erasmus, De libero arbitrio, Sept. 1524.

Sed desinamus ratiocinari cum his quae ratione carent. De homine nobis instituta disputatio, quem Deus condidit ad imaginem et similitudinem suam, et cuius gratia condidit omnia. Cum vero videamus quosdam nasci corporibus felicissimis, ingeniis optimis ac velut ad virtutem natis, rursus alios corporibus monstrosis, alios morbis horrendis obnoxios, alios animis tam stupidis ut minimum absint a brutis animantibus, quosdam ipsis etiam brutis brutiores, alios ingeniis tam propensis ad flagitia ut ad haec videantur vi factorum rapi, quosdam plane dementes ac daemoniacos, quibus modis hic explicabimus

quaestionem de iustitia ac misericordia Dei? An dicemus cum Paulo, *O altitudo*, &c.? Sic arbitror melius quam impia temeritate iudicare de Dei consiliis, quae sunt homini impervestigabilia. Verum longe difficilius sit explicare quare Deus in aliis immortalis gloria coronet sua benefacta, in aliis sua malefacta puniat aeternis suppliciis. Hoc tamen paradoxon ut tueantur, multis auxiliaribus paradoxis est opus, quo tuta sit acies adversus alteram partem. Exaggerant in immensum peccatum originale, quo sic volunt corruptas esse praestantissimas etiam humanae naturae vires, ut ex sese nihil possit nisi ignorare et odisse Deum: ac ne per fidei quidem gratiam iustificatus ullum opus possit efficere, quod non sit peccatum: atque illam ipsam proclivitatem ad peccandum, in nobis ex peccato primorum parentum relictam, volunt esse peccatum, et eandem invincibilem esse, adeo ut nullum sit Dei praeceptum, quod homo etiam per fidem iustificatus possit implere, sed tot Dei praecepta non alio spectare quam ut amplificetur Dei gratia salutem largiens absque respectu meritorum. Verum interim isti mihi videntur alibi contrahere Dei misericordiam, ut alibi dilatent, perinde ac si quis apponat convivis perparcum prandium quo splendidior videatur in coena; et quodammodo pictores imitetur qui cum lucem mentiri volunt in pictura, obscurant umbris quae proxima sunt. Primum enim paene crudelem faciunt Deum, qui ob peccatum alienum sic saeviat in universum hominum genus, praesertim cum qui commiserant resipuerint ac tam graves dederint poenas quam diu vixerunt. Deinde cum aiunt etiam illos, qui per fidem iustificati sunt, nihil aliud quam peccare, adeo ut amando Deum et fidendo Deo reddamur digni odio Dei, nonne vehementer hic faciunt parcam Dei gratiam, quae sic iustificat hominem per fidem, ut tamen adhuc nihil aliud sit quam ipsum peccatum? Praeterea dum Deus tot praeceptis onerat hominem, quae ad nihil aliud valent quam ut magis oderit Deum graviusque damnetur, nonne faciunt eum ipso Dionysio Siciliae tyranno inclementiorem, qui multas leges studio prodidit, quas suspicabatur plerosque, si nullus instaret, non servaturos, ac primum connivebat, mox ubi vidit omnes propemodum alicubi peccasse, coepit eos vocare ad poenam. Ita reddidit sibi omnes obnoxios. Et tamen huius leges erant huiusmodi, ut facile possent servari, si quis voluisset. Non nunc excutio causas quibus docent omnia Dei praecepta nobis esse impossibilia; nec enim hoc instituimus. Tantum obiter ostendere volui, istos nimio studio dilatandae gratiae in ratione salutis, eandem in aliis obscurare: quaedam

non video quomodo consistant. Iugulato libero arbitrio docent hominem iam agi Spiritu Christi, cuius natura non patitur consortium peccati. Et tamen iidem dicunt hominem etiam accepta gratia nihil aliud quam peccare. Id genus hyperbolis delectatus videtur Lutherus, ut aliorum hyperbolas veluti malum nodum, quod dici solet, malo cuneo propelleret. Quorundam temeritas ad hyperbolen processerat qui vendebant merita, non solum sua verum etiam omnium Sanctorum. At qualia tandem opera? Cantiones, murmura psalmorum, pisces, inedias, vestes, titulos. Hunc clavum clavo sic pepulit Lutherus ut diceret nulla esse omnino merita Sanctorum sed omnia quamlibet piorum hominum facta fuisse peccata, damnationem aeternam allatura, ni fides et Dei misericordia succurrisset. . . .

No. 83. The Twelve Articles of the Peasants, March 1525.

The fundamental and correct chief articles of all the peasants and of those subject to ecclesiastical lords, relating to those matters in which they feel themselves aggrieved.

M, c quadratum, lx et duplicatum

V cum transibit, Christiana secta peribit.

Ein M, vier c, zwei l darbey,

Und ein x das zwifach sey,

Bald wan ein v dartzu ist schreyben,

Werden nit souil secten der Christen bleyben.

Peace to the Christian Reader and the Grace of God through Christ.

There are many evil writings put forth of late which take occasion, on account of the assembling of the peasants, to cast scorn upon the Gospel, saying: Is this the fruit of the new teaching, that no one should obey but all should everywhere rise in revolt, and rush together to reform, or perhaps destroy entirely, the authorities, both ecclesiastical and lay? The articles below shall answer these godless and criminal fault-finders, and serve in the first place to remove the reproach from the word of God and, in the second place, to give a Christian excuse for the disobedience or even the revolt of the entire Peasantry. In the first place the Gospel is not the cause of revolt and disorder, since it is the message of Christ, the promised Messiah, the Word of Life, teaching only love, peace, patience, and concord. Thus, all who believe in Christ

should learn to be loving, peaceful, long-suffering and harmonious. This is the foundation of all the articles of the peasants (as will be seen), who accept the Gospel and live according to it. How then can the evil reports declare the Gospel to be a cause of revolt and disobedience? That the authors of the evil reports and the enemies of the Gospel oppose themselves to these demands is due not to the Gospel, but to the Devil, the worst enemy of the Gospel, who causes this opposition by raising doubts in the minds of his followers; and thus the word of God, which teaches love, peace, and concord, is overcome. In the second place, it is clear that the peasants demand that this Gospel be taught them as a guide in life, and they ought not to be called disobedient or disorderly. Whether God grant the peasants (earnestly wishing to live according to his word) their requests or no, who shall find fault with the will of the Most High? Who shall meddle in his judgements or oppose his majesty? Did he not hear the children of Israel when they called upon him, and save them out of the hands of Pharaoh? Can he not save his own to-day? Yea, he will save them, and that speedily. Therefore, Christian reader, read the following articles with care, and then judge. Here follow the Articles:

The first Article.—First, it is our humble petition and desire, as also our will and resolution, that in the future we should have power and authority so that each community should choose and appoint a pastor, and that we should have the right to depose him should he conduct himself improperly. The pastor thus chosen should teach us the Gospel pure and simple, without any addition, doctrine, or ordinance of man. For to teach us continually the true faith will lead us to pray God that through his grace this faith may increase within us and become a part of us. For if his grace work not within us, we remain flesh and blood, which availeth nothing; since the Scripture clearly teaches that only through true faith can we come to God. Only through his mercy can we become holy. Hence such a guide and pastor is necessary, and in this fashion grounded upon the Scriptures.

The Second Article.—According as the just tithe is established by the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New, we are ready and willing to pay the fair tithe of grain. The word of God plainly provides that in giving according to right to God and distributing to his people the services of a pastor are required. We will that for the future our church provost,

whomsoever the community may appoint, shall gather and receive this tithe. From this he shall give to the pastor, elected by the whole community, a decent and sufficient maintenance for him and his, according to the judgment of the whole community. What remains over shall be given to the poor of the place, as the circumstances and the general opinion demand. Should anything farther remain, let it be kept, lest any one should have to leave the country from poverty. Provision should also be made from this surplus to avoid laying any land tax on the poor. In¹ case one or more villages themselves have sold their tithes on account of want, and the village has taken action as a whole, the buyer should not suffer loss, but we will that some proper agreement be reached with him for the repayment of the sum by the village with due interest. But those who have tithes which they have not purchased from a village, but which were appropriated by their ancestors, should not, and ought not, to be paid anything farther by the village, which shall apply its tithes to the support of the pastors elected as above indicated, or to solace the poor, as is taught by the Scriptures. The small tithes, whether ecclesiastical or lay, we will not pay at all, for the Lord God created cattle for the free use of man. We will not, therefore, pay farther an unseemly tithe which is of man's invention.

The Third Article.—It has been the custom hitherto for men to hold us as their own property, which is pitiable enough, considering that Christ has delivered and redeemed us all, without exception, by the shedding of his precious blood, the lowly as well as the great. Accordingly, it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free and wish to be so. Not that we would wish to be absolutely free and under no authority. God does not teach us that we should lead a disorderly life in the lusts of the flesh, but that we should love the Lord our God and our neighbour. We would gladly observe all this as God has commanded us in the celebration of the Communion.² He has not commanded us not to obey the authorities, but rather that we should be humble, not only towards those in authority, but towards every one. We are thus ready to yield obedience according to God's law to our elected and regular authorities in all proper things becoming to a Christian. We, therefore, take it for granted that you will release us from

¹ The following two sentences are somewhat obscure in the original.

² Cf. St. John xiii.

serfdom, as true Christians, unless it should be shown us from the Gospel that we are serfs.

The Fourth Article.—In the fourth place it has been the custom heretofore that no poor man should be allowed to touch venison or wild fowl, or fish in flowing water, which seems to us quite unseemly and unbrotherly, as well as selfish and not agreeable to the word of God. In some places the authorities preserve the game to our great annoyance and loss, recklessly permitting the unreasoning animals to destroy to no purpose our crops, which God suffers to grow for the use of man, and yet we must remain quiet. This is neither godly nor neighbourly. For when God created man he gave him dominion over all the animals, over the birds of the air and over the fish in the water. Accordingly, it is our desire if a man holds possession of waters that he should prove from satisfactory documents that his right has been wittingly acquired by purchase. We do not wish to take it from him by force, but his rights should be exercised in a Christian and brotherly fashion. But whosoever cannot produce such evidence should surrender his claim with good grace.

The Fifth Article.—In the fifth place we are aggrieved in the matter of wood-cutting, for the noble folk have appropriated all the woods to themselves alone. If a poor man requires wood he must pay double for it [or, perhaps, two pieces of money]. It is our opinion in regard to a wood which has fallen into the hands of a lord, whether spiritual or temporal, that unless it was duly purchased it should revert again to the community. It should, moreover, be free to every member of the community to help himself to such firewood as he needs in his own home. Also, if a man requires wood for carpenter's purposes he should have it free, but with the knowledge of a person appointed by the community for that purpose. Should, however, no such forest be at the disposal of the community, let that which has been duly bought be administered in a brotherly and Christian manner. If the forest, although unfairly appropriated in the first instance, was later duly sold, let the matter be adjusted in a friendly spirit and according to the Scriptures.

The Sixth Article.—The sixth complaint is in regard to the excessive services demanded of us, which are increased from day to day. We ask that this matter be properly looked into, so that we shall not continue to be oppressed in this way, and that some gracious consideration be given us, since our fore-

fathers were required only to serve according to the word of God.

The Seventh Article.—Seventh, we will not hereafter allow ourselves to be farther oppressed by our lords, but will let them demand only what is just and proper according to the word of the agreement between the lord and the peasant. The lord should no longer try to force more services or other dues from the peasant without payment, but permit the peasant to enjoy his holding in peace and quiet. The peasant should, however, help the lord when it is necessary, and at proper times, when it will not be disadvantageous to the peasant, and for a suitable payment.

The Eighth Article.—In the eighth place, we are greatly burdened by holdings which cannot support the rent exacted from them. The peasants suffer loss in this way and are ruined, and we ask that the lords may appoint persons of honour to inspect these holdings, and fix a rent in accordance with justice, so that the peasant shall not work for nothing, since the labourer is worthy of his hire.

The Ninth Article.—In the ninth place, we are burdened with a great evil in the constant making of new laws. We are not judged according to the offence, but sometimes with great ill will, and sometimes much too leniently. In our opinion we should be judged according to the old written law, so that the case shall be decided according to its merits, and not with partiality.

The Tenth Article.—In the tenth place, we are aggrieved by the appropriation by individuals of meadows and fields which at one time belonged to a community. These we will take again into our own hands. It may, however, happen that the land was rightfully purchased, but when the land has unfortunately been purchased in this way, some brotherly arrangement should be made according to circumstances.

The Eleventh Article.—In the eleventh place we will entirely abolish the due called Todfall [i.e. heriot], and will no longer endure it, nor allow widows and orphans to be thus shamefully robbed against God's will, and in violation of justice and right, as has been done in many places, and by those who should shield and protect them. These have disgraced and despoiled us, and although they had little authority, they assumed it. God will suffer this no more, but it shall be wholly done away with, and for the future no man shall be bound to give little or much.

Conclusion.—In the twelfth place it is our conclusion and final resolution, that if any one or more of the articles here set forth should not be in agreement with the word of God, as we think they are, such article we will willingly recede from, when it is proved really to be against the word of God by a clear explanation of the scripture. Or if articles should now be conceded to us that are hereafter discovered to be unjust, from that hour they shall be dead and null and without force. Likewise, if more complaints should be discovered, which are based upon truth and the scriptures, and relate to offences against God and our neighbour, we have determined to reserve the right to present these also, and to exercise ourselves in all Christian teaching. For this we shall pray God, since He can grant these, and He alone. The peace of Christ abide with us all.

No. 84. Melancthon on Luther's Marriage.

From *Melancthon's letter to Camerarius*.—Εὖ πράττειν. Ὅτι μὲν ἔμελλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡ φήμη οὐχ ὁμοία περὶ τοῦ γάμου τοῦ Λουθήρου ἀγγεῖλαι, ἔδοξέ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς γνώμης ἔχω σοι ἐπιστέλλειν. Μηνὸς ἰουνίου ἡμέρα γὰρ ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἔγνημε τὴν Βορείαν ὁ Λούθερος, μηδενὶ τῶν φίλων τὸ πρᾶγμα προτοῦ ἀναθέμενος, ἀλλ' ἐσπέρας πρὸς δεῖπνον καλέσας τὸν Πομερανίαν καὶ Λουκᾶν τὸν γραφέα καὶ τὸν Ἀπελλον μόνους ἐποίησε τὰ εἰθισμένα προτέλεια. Θαυμάσιος δὲ ἂν τούτῳ τῷ δυστυχίῳ χρόνῳ καλῶν καγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πάντοτε ταλαιπωρούντων τοῦτον οὐ συμπάσχειν, ἀλλ' ὡς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον τρυφῆν καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀξίωμα ἐλαττοῦν, ὅτε μάλιστα χρεῖαν ἔχει ἡ Γερμανία φρονήματός τε καὶ ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ. Ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα οὕτω πως γενέσθαι οὔμαι. Ἔστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὡς μάλιστα εὐχερῆς καὶ αἱ μοναχαὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ ἐπιβουλεύόμεναι προσέσπασαν αὐτόν. Ἴσως ἡ πολλὴ συνήθεια ἢ σὺν ταῖς μοναχαῖς, καὶ γενναῖον ὄντα καὶ μεγαλόψυχον, κατεμάλθαξε ἢ καὶ προσ[ε]τίκευσε τοῦτον τρόπον εἰσπεσεῖν δοκεῖ [μοι] εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἄκαιρον βίον μεταβολήν. Θρυλλοῦμενον δέ, ὅτι καὶ προτοῦ (ἐκ)υγεν αὐτὴν, ἐψεῦσθαι ὀηλόν ἐστι. Νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν μὴ βαρέως φέρειν δεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζειν. Ἀλλὰ ἡγοῦμαι ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀναγκασθῆναι γαμῖν. Οὗτος δὲ βίος ταπεινὸς μὲν ἀλλ' ὁσίος ἐστὶ καὶ Θεῷ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀγάμου ἀρέσκει. Καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν τὸν Λούθερον ἐπίλυτον πως ὄντα ὀρῶ καὶ ταραχθέντα διὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου μεταβολήν, πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ ἐννοίᾳ ἐπιχειρῶ παραμυθεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω ἔπραξέ τι, ὅπερ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ἀξιῷ ἢ ἀναπολόγητον δοκεῖ. ἔτι δὲ τεκμήριόν τινα ἔχω τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτοῦ, ὥστε κατακρίνειν οὐκ

ἐξεῖναι. "Επειτα αὖ μάλλον ἡ χόμην αὐτὸν ταπεινοῦσθαι ἢ ὑψοῦσθαι καὶ ἐπαίρεσθαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπισφαλές, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐν ἱερουσὺνῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. Τὸ γὰρ εὖ πράττειν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ κακῶς φρονεῖν γίγνεται οὐ μόνον, ὡς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἔφη, τοῖς ἀνοήτοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς· πρὸς τοῦτῃ καὶ ἐλπίζω, ὅτι ὁ βίος οὕτως σμενότερον αὐτὸν ποιήσει, ὥστε καὶ ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν βωμολοχίαν ἧς πολλάκις ἐμεψάμεσθα. Ἄλλος γὰρ βίος ἄλλην δίδωται κατὰ παροιμίαν καταστήσει. Ταῦτα πρὸς σε μακρολογῶ, ὥστε μὴ σε ὑπὸ παραδόξου πράγματος ἄγαν ταραττεσθαι. Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι μέλει σοι τοῦ ἀξιώματος τοῦ Λουθέρου, ὅπερ νυνὶ ἐλαττοῦσθαι ἀχθεσθήσῃ. . . .

No. 85. Erasmus on the same.

Letter of Erasmus, 21 March 1528.— . . Nuper Oecolampadius duxit uxorem, puellam non inegantem. Vult, opinor, affligere carnem. Quidam appellant Lutheranam Tragoediam. Mihi videtur esse Comoedia: semper enim in nuptias exeunt tumultus. . . .

No. 86. The Treaty of Madrid, 14 Jan. 1526.

[*Article XXVI.*] Item, pour ce que, comme dessus est dit, la principale intention desdits Seigneurs Empereur et Roy Très-Chrestien a esté et est de par cetteditte Paix particulière pouvoir parvenir à l'universelle, et par consequent aux emprises contre les Turcs et autres Infidèles et autres Heretiques alienez du greme de nostre Mere Sainte Eglise, comme la necessité le requiert, et que nostre Saint Père le Pape l'a par plusieurs fois exhorté et persuadé; et pour ensuivre et mettre en œuvre lesdites exhortations et persuasions, a esté traité, accordé et appointé que lesdits Seigneurs Empereur et Roy Très-Chrestien d'un commun accord et consentement, et par leurs communs Ambassadeurs, supplieront par ensemble nostredit Saint Père le Pape, qu'il veuille sur ce choisir et indire une journée la plus brieve que faire se pourra, et escrire de sa part à tous Roys, Princes et Potentates Chrestiens, pour envoyer à ladite journée et assemblée leurs Deputez et Commis avec plein et suffisant Pouvoir, tant pour traiter de ladite Paix universelle de tous les Chrestiens, que pour dresser tous les moyens convenables pour lesdites emprises et expéditions tant contre lesdits Tures et Infidèles que contre lesdits Heretiques alienez du greme de la Sainte Eglise. . . .

XXIX

THE DIET OF SPEIER, 1526

Alarmed by the Peasants' Revolt, George Duke of Saxony united at Dessau, 19 July 1525, with the Electoral brothers Albert of Mainz, †1545, and Joachim of Brandenburg, †1535, and the two Dukes Eric of Brunswick-Calenberg, 1495-†1540, and Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, 1514-†1568, to 'extirpate the root of this disturbance, the damned Lutheran sect' (W. Friedensburg, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Gotha-Torgauischen Bündnisses*, Beilage 1, 113). Early in 1526 Duke Henry went to secure the Emperor's support, which was promised in his admonition of 23 March 1526 (Neudecker, *Urkunden aus der Reformationszeit*, No. 5).

Thus menaced the Elector and the Landgrave drew together, 27 Feb. 1526, in Gotha (Friedensburg, 105). Their alliance was ratified 2 May, as the League of Torgau (Dumont, *Corps diplomatique*, IV. i. 449 sqq.); and was then expanded at Magdeburg by the admission, 12 June, of Philip Duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, 1486-†1551, Dukes Otto, †1549, Ernest, †1546, and Francis, †1549, of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Henry Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 1503-†1552, Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt-Köthen, 1508-1562, and the Counts Gebhardt, †1558, and Albert, †1560, of Mansfeld (*ibid.* 455 sq.), and, 25 June, of the city of Magdeburg (*ibid.* 457 sq.).

Sides were thus taken when it became known, 24 June (Friedensburg, *Der Reichstag zu Speier*, 268) that by the [No. 87] **League of Cognac**, 22 May (Dumont, *ib.* 451 sqq.), the Emperor was again at variance with the Pope. Next day the Diet opened, 25 June, under the presidency of Ferdinand, with [No. 88] the **Proposition** (Friedensburg, *Reichstag zu Speier*, Anhang VI. 523 sqq.). The old project of a common programme of reforms reappeared, for the last time, 14 July, in the report of a committee of the Princes (Ranke, *Ref.* 423 sq. and Friedensburg, 349, n. 1). Its adoption might have secured a Germany united by means of a national assembly, had not parties now taken too definite a shape for this. Ferdinand cut short the discussion by producing, 1 Aug., instructions dated from Seville 23 March (Friedensburg, 371, n. 2) in which the Emperor forbade innovations, promised to arrange with the Pope for a Council, and demanded the execution of the Edict of Worms. Thereupon [No. 89] the **Cities** declared, 4 Aug., that such a course was impossible (Friedensburg, Anhang XI. 552 sqq.); and as it proved equally impracticable to execute the Edict in the Evangelical States and to repeal it in the Catholic, the Diet, at the suggestion of the Princes, 7 Aug. (*ibid.*, Anhang XII. 556), fell back by its [No. 90] **Recess** of 27 Aug. (Walch, *Luthers Schriften*, xvi, col. 268, No. 809, § 4) on Territorialism as the only remaining alternative. Its decision was hastened by the advance of the Turk. On 23 April Solymán, 1520-†166, marched out of Constantinople and overthrew Louis II, King of Bohemia and Hungary, 1516-†26, at Mohacz, 29 Aug. 1526.

No. 87. The League of Cognac, 22 May 1526.

Quum multos iam annos diutinis et continuis bellis vexata Christiana Respublica . . . Quod perpendens . . . S. D. N. Clemens VII Pont. Max. ac Pastor vigilantissimus nihil praetermittere . . . decrevit quo Reipublicae Christianae saluti . . . consuleret, veramque et stabilem pacem inter Christianos Principes constitueret. . . . Quum autem multa tentasset, tandem certior factus Serenissimum . . . Principem Franciscum, Francorum regem Christianissimum, a captivitate qua ab Imperatore detinebatur liberatum fuisse : . . . eius nuncium ad eum destinavit . . . ut de pace . . . componenda ageretur. . . . Quod animadvertens Illustrissimus Venetiarum Dux, Andreas Gritti,¹ inclitumque Venetorum Dominium, necnon Illustrissimus Princeps Franciscus Sforzia,² Mediolani Dux, pacis istius percupidi . . . nuncium . . . ad eundem . . . Regem destinarunt ad eos fines eademque de causa qua Summus Pontifex. Quibus tandem per Christianissimum Regem auditis . . . factum est ut . . . procuratores constitueret . . . super iam dicta capitulatione fienda. Omnibus demum . . . consideratis, praedicti nuncii et procuratores pro et nomine S. D. N. Papae, Christianissimi Francorum Regis, Illustrissimi Ducis inclitique Venetorum Domini necnon Illustrissimi Mediolani Ducis pacis tractatum inierunt et concluderunt etiam pro Imperatore, Rege Angliae aliisque Christianis Principibus . . . qui hunc tractatum ingredi voluerint. . . .

I. Imprimis conveniunt . . . praedicti contrahentes sese nullo modo . . . laedere aut perturbare, neque ullum auxilium . . . praestare aliquibusvis eorum hostibus . . . imo illorum resistere conatibus ac sese invicem suaeque regna et dominia defendere quae de praesenti tenent . . . uti bonos . . . amicos . . . decet. . . . Pollicenturque omnes praedicti S. D. N. Papae assistere, eiusque dignitatem ac personam defendere adversus quemcumque illam perturbare . . . volentem. . . .

II. Convenit est, ut relinquatur honorificus locus ingrediendi hoc sanctissimum foedus, si libuerit, imprimis Serenissimo . . . Principi Carolo, Imperatori electo, et Serenissimo Angliae Regi, non modo ut contrahenti, sed etiam ut praesentis foederis Protectori, si assensum praebuerit ; atque Illustrissimo Domino Ferdinando, Austriae Archiduci, caeterisque . . . Principibus . . . Christianis. Non recipiunt tamen . . . supradictus Im-

¹ 1523-8.

² 1521-435 [Imperial occupation 1525-9].

perator nisi prius . . . Chr. Regis filios quos tenet obsides restituerit . . . et Mediolani Ducatum Duci Mediolanensi praedicto reliquerit liberum . . . neque Italiam ad se coronandum aut aliquovis modo ingrediatur nisi cum tali . . . comitatu qui videbitur aptus et conveniens tum S. D. N. Papae tum Ill. Duci inclitoque Venetorum Dominio . . . : et quod Regi Angliae . . . ea solvetur pecuniae summa quae sibi ab ipso debetur Imperatore.

XV. Promittunt et pollicentur praedicti confoederati, quod si Imperator electus denegaret aut protelaret peragere ea quae in secundo . . . articulo continentur, quod statim . . . dicti contrahentes invadent . . . Regnum Neapolitanum cum viribus tam terrestribus quam maritimis. . . Quodsi Imperator electus ab ipso Regno Neapolitano pellatur et eius exercitus illinc eiiciatur, manebit quidem illud Regnum ad S. D. N. Papae arbitrium. . .

Actum Cogniaci, die 22 Maii 1526.

No. 88. The Proposition, or Speech from the Throne, 25 June 1526.

(i) First, it is the gracious and express will, desire, and command of our most gracious Lord, His Imperial and Royal Spanish Majesty aforesaid, that the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Empire, together with the aforementioned commissioners and deputies of His Majesty, should at this present Diet deliberate, consider, and finally by common conference resolve upon, measures, ways, and means whereby the Christian faith and the well-established good Christian practice and order of the Church in general may be maintained until the meeting of a free Council, and here among the members of the Holy Empire unity of each with all may be secured : how, moreover, transgressors may be punished for their offences and, should one forcibly resist the punishment, how the authorities may assist each other : so that the Imperial Edict resolved upon by the above commissioners, together with the Estates of the Empire, may be observed by each and all, and obtain immediate execution.

No. 89. The declaration of the Cities, 4 Aug. 1526.

Most gracious, gracious, and worshipful Sirs,—The information which the Viceroy and Commissioners of His Imperial Majesty recently communicated, by word of mouth and then

in writing, to your Electoral and Princely Graces and other the worshipful Estates of the Holy Empire, we the representatives of the Free Imperial Cities, have obediently received, together with the articles of the Imperial Instructions concerning our holy Christian faith.

We observe that the said articles aim specially at this, that nothing in this Diet shall be undertaken or concluded to the injury of our holy Christian faith or to the laws or ancient customs of the Church, its doctrine, order, ceremonies, and usages: but that these shall, in accordance with His Majesty's Edict at Worms, be, throughout the Empire, maintained, executed, and ordained to be used, with the proviso that His Imperial Majesty will shortly repair to Rome to His Holiness the Pope, and with him will, as is fitting, announce and proclaim a General Council and common assembly of Christendom.

Now we, the representatives of the Free Cities of the Empire, willingly obedient in all subjection to His Majesty, as our right, only, and natural lord, in all that may forward the peace and unity of the Holy Empire, acknowledge ourselves also bound thereto. But your Electoral and Princely Graces know to what a great and grievous extent the errors, discords, and disagreements in the matter of the aforesaid articles, especially in respect of ceremonies and abuses, have of recent years increased and multiplied: and how impossible it has hitherto proved, and, as it may be presumed, will yet prove more impossible, to execute the Imperial Edict of Worms, as lately, at the Diet of Nürnberg, was by your Graces resolved in reply to the Papal Envoy.

We, therefore, the representatives of the Free Cities, doubt not but that . . . His Imperial Majesty will himself graciously consider that it would be extremely grievous, in the matter of ceremonies and abuses, to persist in imposing the Edict of Worms until a General Council.

Further, the date of His Majesty's Instructions is the twenty-third day of March last, at which time His Majesty was at one with His Holiness the Pope. But, as we are now informed, His Holiness has at this moment an army in the field against His Majesty. For this and other reasons we cannot suppose that a General Council or other common assembly of Christendom can, as His Imperial Majesty intended, be proclaimed and brought together. . . .

No. 90. The Recess of the Diet, 27 Aug. 1526.

§ 4. Thereupon have we [the Commissioners], the Electors, Princes, Estates of the Empire, and ambassadors of the same, now here at this present Diet, unanimously agreed and resolved, while awaiting the sitting of the Council or a national Assembly [i.e. without tarrying for the return of the deputation]¹ with our subjects, on the matters which the Edict published by His Imperial Majesty at the Diet holden at Worms may concern, each one so to live, govern, and carry himself as he hopes and trusts to answer it to God and His Imperial Majesty.

XXX

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LUTHERAN COMMUNITIES, 1526-9

The years that followed the Recess of Speier were years of reconstruction. This was possible (1) because the Hapsburgs were preoccupied with politics. Thus (*a*) the Emperor was absorbed in his quarrel with the Pope, which led to the sack of Rome, 6 May 1527, and his second war with Francis, 1528-9, and (*b*) his brother Ferdinand in the effort to secure his position on the eastern frontier of the Empire. Though heir, by right of his wife, Anne of Poland, †1547, to both the thrones of her brother Louis, Ferdinand thought well to secure them by election, and so he was crowned King of Bohemia 24 Feb., and of Hungary 3 Nov. 1527. Henceforth his adversary was not Lutheranism, but the Turk. It was further possible (2) because the Lutherans thus found themselves free to put their own interpretation upon the Recess. They claimed e.g. at the Synod of Homberg, 20 Oct. 1526, that according to it they might make ecclesiastical regulations 'de quibus parati sumus Deo et Caesari ex Dei verbo reddere rationem' (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 56).

I. In 1525, Prussia, though outside the Empire, led the way. Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, †1568, who, as Grand Master, 1511-25, of the Teutonic Order, lived in Königsberg and ruled over Eastern Prussia, secularized its territories and received them back as an hereditary Dukedom under the suzerainty of Poland 9 April 1525 (Tschackert, *Urkundenbuch zur Reformationsgeschichte des Herzogthums Preussen*, No. 344, vol. ii. 116). The lands of the order were covered by two dioceses, and by this time had been reformed through the efforts of two bishops. George von Polentz, Bishop of Samland, 1519-150, put out a [No. 91] Mandate of

¹ Of the Diet to the Emperor. It was resolved upon 7 Aug. The minutes of the Diet and its instructions for the deputation are given in Friedensburg, *op. cit.*, Anh. XII, XIII.

28 Jan. 1524 (Tschackert, No. 176, ii. 49) which Luther contrasts with a pronouncement from the other side by the neighbouring prelate in Western (or Polish) Prussia, Maurice Bishop of Ermland 1523-†37 (Lutheri *Op. Lat.* vii. 66 sqq.), and then wrote of its author 1 Feb. 'Sed et episcopus tandem unus Christo nomen dedit et evangelizat in Prussia, nempe Sambiensis, quem fovet et erudit Io. Brismannus quem illuc misimus abiecto cucullo ut et Prussia regno Satanae valedicere incipiat' (de Wette, ii. 474). A year later Erhard von Queiss, nominated (Tschackert, No. 134, ii. 35), but never confirmed, Bishop of Pomesania, 1523-†29, put out his [No. 92] **Programme of Reforms**, 1 Jan. 1525 (Tschackert, ii. 101, No. 300). The prelates were aided by the preachers, who arrived in Königsberg 1523-4 (*ibid.*, Nos. 141, 237), Jo. Briessmann 1488-†1550, and Paul Speratus, 1484-†1551. Prussia thus acquired its new religion and its new political status together, as was observed in [No. 93] a letter of Andrew Bishop of Premysl, 1524-7, to the Nuncio in Hungary (*Acta Tomiciana*, vii. 249). On 30 May 1525 the Bishop of Samland (Tschackert, ii. 120, No. 356), and 23 Oct. 1527 the Bishop of Pomesania (*ibid.* ii. 194, No. 565) each gave up his temporal lordship. They retained their spiritual jurisdiction—administered now, as before, by officials—till, 1550, Superintendents were substituted for Bishops because they were cheaper (*ibid.* i. 113; iii. 263, No. 2374). On 6 July 1525 the Duke issued his mandate for evangelical preaching (*ibid.* ii. 126, No. 371). This was followed up, 10 Dec., by thirteen articles of the Diet (*ibid.* ii. 142, No. 417), and by an episcopal order, based on the fourth of these, for *Ceremonies and other Church Order* (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 28; cf. Tschackert, i. 129). It was published March 1526 (*ibid.* i. 129 and ii. 142, No. 418), being modelled, in part, on Luther's *Formula Missae*. These reforms were enforced by a Visitation (*ibid.* i. 133, ii. 157, Nos. 459, 460) 31 March; and in [No. 94] the ducal (*ibid.* i. 168, n. 1, ii. 235, No. 699) and episcopal (*ibid.*, No. 700) **prefaces** to the Synodal Constitutions of Jan. 1530, Speratus, now 'bishop' of Pomesania, set out the theory of the authority by which they had been carried through (cf. Richter, *Geschichte der ev. Kirchenverfassung*, 36). On 29 Sept. 1526, the Duke had been received into the League of Torgau (Tschackert, ii. 175, No. 515).

II. In Electoral Saxony Luther's first ideal, as we have seen (*supra*, 121 sqq.), had been to leave each community free (de Wette, ii. 563); and this freedom he used to put out his [No. 95] **German Mass and Order of Divine Service** (Sehling, *op. cit.* i. i. 10 sqq.) first sung in Wittenberg 29 Oct. 1525 (de Wette, iii. 36) and published Jan. 1526. But after the Peasants' War he began to look, for ecclesiastical discipline, to regulation by the State, 30 Nov. 1525 (*ibid.* iii. 39, 51). On 22 Nov. 1526, since 'papal and episcopal discipline was gone' (*ibid.* iii. 136), he begged the Elector to take matters in hand. Four commissioners were accordingly appointed, 13 Feb. 1527, and provided, 16 June, with Instructions (Sehling,

I. i. 35, 142 sqq.): but they presently reported their powers insufficient (*ibid.* 36). On 22 March 1528 fresh [No. 96] **Instructions to Visitors** (*ibid.* 149 sqq.) appeared. (We print below extracts from the Latin translation in Säckendorf, *Commentarius de Lutheranismus*, II. xiii, § 36.) They were the work of Melancthon, with a preface by Luther; and were administered by six different commissions in as many districts of the Electoral territory, 1528-9 (*ibid.* 41 sqq.). The state of things which called them forth is hinted in Luther's preface to [No. 97] **The Short Catechism** (Wace and Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, 1 sqq.) of July 1529, which superseded his *Greater Catechism* of the previous spring (*ibid.* 24 sqq.), and practically completed the new ecclesiastical institutions of Saxony. To them 'the whole of Lower Germany adhered' with but 'slight variations' (Ranke, *Ref.* 473).

III. Other states and cities followed in the wake of Saxony. Thus (a) Brandenburg-Anspach was conservative. Its rulers, since 1515, were the two elder brothers of Albert Duke of Prussia, Margraves Casimir, †1527, a Catholic, and George, †1543, a Lutheran. At the Diet of Anspach, 4 Oct. 1526, advantage was taken of the Recess of Speier so far as to lay down that preachers should confine themselves to the pure Word of God, but the Mass was to continue and there was to be nothing preached against it 'as if in the holy Sacrament of the altar the body and blood of Christ were not present' (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 52). At a second Diet, however, 1 March 1528, George established the new order of things; and in 1533 there appeared the Church Order of Brandenburg-Nürnberg (*ibid.* i. 176) which had some influence on the English Prayer Book (Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, pp. 30, 41) and became the parent of an important family of Church Orders (Herzog, *Realencyclopädie*, x. 460, 3 ed. 1901).

(b) Hesse was at first revolutionary; for the Synod of Homberg, 20 Oct. 1526, proposed in the [No. 98] **Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae** (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 56 sqq.) a scheme of Church government which was elaborated by Francis Lambert, 1487-†1530, a convert of Zwingli and a pupil of Luther. It was based upon the independence of each Christian community, combined with the strictest discipline. This was to apply Luther's own earlier ideals; but 'he had already renounced them' (Ranke, *Ref.* 461). He now dissuaded the Landgrave, 7 Jan. 1527, from giving effect to the proposals of the Synod as impracticable and premature (de Wette, vi. 80); and the Saxon ordinances took their place (Ranke, *Ref.* 468; Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 163) from 1528.

(c) Brunswick-Lüneburg, under Duke Ernest, became Lutheran in 1527 (Richter, *ibid.* i. 70).

(d) Of the Cities, Brunswick accepted the new order of things in 1528, and [No. 99] **The Brunswick Church Order** (*ibid.* i. 106 sqq.), for which Bugenhagen drew upon the Saxon Instructions of 16 June 1527, became the model of a second and generally conservative group

of Ordinances (Herzog, x. 460; cf. Ranke, *Ref.* 668) in Hamburg 1529, Lübeck 1531, Pomerania 1535, and Schleswig-Holstein 1542. The 'Gotteskasten', as at Leisnig, were important features in these arrangements.

**No. 91. Mandate of the Bishop of Samland,
28 Jan. 1524.**

Georgius solius Dei gratia Episcopus Sambiensis Honorandis nobis in Christo dilectis plebanis in Fischhausen¹ ad S. Adalbertum ceterisque singulis quibus hoc mandatum est offerendum, salutem in Domino.

Haud quaquam vos ignorare arbitramur quam foede misereque a multis annis collapsa sit Christiana orthodoxaque religio, quandoquidem etiam ii qui Christiano nomine appellantur non plus nunc tenent Christianae intelligentiae quam ii qui a Christo sunt alienissimi, inmo prohi dolor multi reperiuntur sexagenarii atque decrepiti qui nesciunt quid in se contineat baptismi professio. Quam quidem ignorantiam magna ex parte huic consuetudini imputandam existimamus, quod ignota vulgo lingua, id est latina tantum, hactenus apud nostros baptizatum sit. Siquidem nihil prosunt circumstantibus sancti baptismi et exorcismi verba, ignoto sermone prolata, quae etiam fortassis ne ipse quidem qui baptizat satis exacte intelligit. Quid enim utilitatis aut fructus accedat auditoribus, cum non intelligant quid sit quod sermone ipsis incognito profertur? Nec solum inutile verum etiam molestum fuit circumstantibus audire presbyterum verba ipsis non intellecta sonantem. Par est non ignorare quid sit ad quod respondes. Quid igitur respondebunt circumstantes, si nesciant quid interroget aut dicat baptizans? Accedit ad hoc nec defuisse eos qui in re tam seria tam pia tam sancta divinaque ob sermonis imperitiam saepiuscule ad levitatem atque cachinnos concitati sunt.

Proinde vos omnes hortamur in Christo, rebellibus denique si qui forent, quod absit, mandamus, secundum potestatem quam Dominus dedit nobis in aedificationem et non in destructionem, ut in concionibus vestris promissiones divinas et baptismi vim populo accurate explicetis et frequenter inculcetis, et facta populi instructione lingua deinceps vernacula baptizetis, maxime apud quas Teutonica lingua² viget. Sic itaque bapti-

¹ The episcopal residence on the Frische Haaf.

² The non-Teutonic, i. e. original, inhabitants at this time were Masurians, Letts, Kures; for whom 'Interpreters' were to be provided according to the Church Order of 1526.

zantis et exorcizantis vox penetrabit animos audientium. Hoc proderit nedum infantulo, sed etiam circumstantibus, ut in dies reddantur firmiores ac se ipsis meliores. Sicut enim Deus per omnes omnium gentium linguas vult Evangelium et promissiones sanctas divulgari, ita quoque variis linguis ac diversis labiis sua cupit sacramenta conferri. Quid enim prodest sacramentum sine verbo et fide? Porro, quod ad reliquas forte linguas attinet, ut sunt Lithuanica, Prutenica atque Sarmatica, dabimus operam, Christo propitio, ne ipsis quoque desit Christiana institutio.

Ut vero Christum praedicaturi manuductionem quandam in divinas litteras habeatis, consulimus vobis ut lucubrationes aliquot praeclarissimi Doctoris Martini Lutheri diligenter et pio animo legatis, nempe veteris et novi Testamenti factam ab eo translationem, item de libertate Christiana, de bonis operibus, explicationes Evangeliorum et Epistolarum quas Postillas vulgo vocant, opusculum super cantico Virginis, *Magnificat*, cum reliquis operationibus eiusdem Lutheri in Psalmos, etc. Quod si feceritis, proculdubio fructum non mediocrem sentietis. Gratia Dei sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

In cuius rei testimonium praesens nostrum mandatum Officiorum nostri sigillo iussimus communiri. Datum in ecclesia nostra Sambiensis, XXVIII Ianuarii anno MDXXIII.

No. 92. Programme of reforms of the Bishop of Pomesania, 1 Jan. 1525.

Themata Episcopi Risenburgensis.¹

1. Hitherto ye have held seven sacraments, but not rightly. Henceforward faith must be before all things the foundation of your salvation, and ye must have no more sacraments than Christ ordained, namely, Holy Communion and Holy Baptism.

2. Henceforward no ban shall hold good which burdens the conscience without ground in God's Word, and is of force only by human institution.

3. Henceforward no confession (auricularis scilicet confessio) shall be made to the priest, whereby a man is bound to make known all his sins.

4. Henceforward there shall be no pilgrimages nor wanderings to holy places, since they aid no man's salvation.

¹ The bishop's residence was at Risenburg in West Prussia.

5. Henceforward no processions shall be held, for they have no ground in God's Word.

6. Henceforward no ringing nor singing nor Masses nor Vigils for the dead are to be held : for they are of no use, and of no avail.

7. Henceforward no water, salt, ashes, palms, tapers, greenery, and the like are to be hallowed : for it is all nonsense and no good.

8. There are to be no obsequies and celebrations for the dead, and no prayers for them. For they are in God's hand and judgement.

9. There are to be no more Orders, neither monks nor nuns ; but only such Orders as war against unbelievers and heathen, like the Teutonic Order.¹

10. Bishops shall continue and remain ; not anointing-bishops nor ordaining-bishops, but such as preach and teach and expound the pure word of God and preside over the Church.

11. Henceforward there are to be no superstitious distinctions made of days and seasons, with all sorts of Feast Days, Fridays, Saturdays, Ember Days, Fast Days, and so on ; but every day alike shall be the Lord's Day, for eating flesh or fish as every man likes or finds necessary, or according as the good God may bestow it.

12. Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, together with Sundays, are to be kept in Christian fashion, as is conformable to God's Word and order. Other such Holy Days as are not grounded in God's Word and keep men from their daily work and calling are sheer nonsense and fables, and conduce to bad example.

13. Hymns and prayers in church are to be in German, so that every man may understand. *Salve regina* is not to be sung, for it conduces to God's dishonour. Holy Baptism is to be administered in German, without chrism and oil.

14. Tithes are not to be given to priests who do not serve their office, but those who minister at the altar are to be paid from the altar.

15. In no church shall the Consecrated Bread be reserved nor taken for God's Body except at the Communion, according to Christ's institution, nor carried about.

16. Pictures in houses and churches are not to be prayed to, nor to have any candles lit before them.

¹ They were founded for this purpose, and conquered the territories afterwards ruled by them in 1230-83.

17. Allowing and forbidding of marriage on account of sponsorship is mere nonsense, and not grounded in God's Word.

18. Brotherhoods and guilds are to direct and lay out their endowments, not on the Mass, but on the maintenance of the poor and other pious uses.

19. The daily Mass is an abomination to God: so henceforward it is not to be observed in any church or anywhere.

20. When a man desires to go to Holy Communion, he must cause the priest, his confessor, to inform him out of God's Word, and must also inform himself, how he should receive and take the bread and wine according to Christ's institution in both kinds.

21. If any one thinks that he can make satisfaction for his sins himself or can save himself apart from the merits of Christ, *anathema esto*, let him be damned!

22. All priests and monks and nuns are at liberty to leave their orders and marry.

No. 93. Letter of Andrew, Bishop of Premysl.

Audio te mirari, mi Baro, Magistrum Ordinis quem vocant Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum ducem in Prussia creatum, canque metamorphosim non probari a te, hoc nomine, quod et a religione et a piis studiis Serenissimi Regis nostri¹ quodammodo aliena videatur. Quare ut cognoscas nihil cum ab ipso religiosissimo principe tum a senatu nostro actum esse perperam et inconsulte, explicandas tibi duxi succincte causas et rationes quae nostros ad eam pacem conficiendam adduxerunt.

Primum, mi Baro, constat ferme universo orbi hanc controversiam Pruthenicam et tot proelia, tot lites, tot turbas quae etiam universam rempublicam Christianam concutiebant, non alia de causa obortas quam quod Reges Poloniae terras Prussiae utpote suas hereditarias asserebant, Magistri vero et Ordo ille Regibus Poloniae uti hereditariis dominis parere et subesse reluctabantur, donec, Superis iustitiam nostram adiuvantibus, res eo venisset ut Ordo ipse, cuius imperium adeo excreverat ut maximis quibusque regibus par censeretur, succumberet tandem et cum tota ditione sua in subiectionem Regibus et regno Poloniae solenni concordia et pace perpetua cederet. . . . Cum vero constitutum esset in conventu generali novissimo neque pacem neque indicias cum ipso Ordine ineundas,

¹ Sigismund I, 1506-148.

sed illum ex terris illis exturbandum: quandoquidem eo durante nullam unquam pacem vel concordiam firmam fuisse futuramque esse in posterum satis experimento constaret, discrimen vero commune cum regno Ungariae suaderet concordiam qualemcunque faciendam et arma in Turcos convertenda, nihil optabilius et magis ex usu accidere potuisse quam et Ordinem, non minus quam olim Templarios noxium, a semetipso sine bellico strepitu destrui, et pacem, rei Christianae pernecessariam, confici, hoc uno turbarum fomite e medio sublato, neque Pontificem neque Caesarem aut nationem Germanicam ullam iustam causam adversus Polonos quidquam agendi habituros, cum Ordo is esset qui modo Pontificiam, modo Caesaream aut nationis Germanicae auctoritatem et ius praetexendo et interim terras Regni Poloniae hereditarias occupando, hanc omnem Camarinam movere consuevisset. Quod si maxime liberet cuiquam Polonos eam ob rem impetere, illos, uti hactenus fecerunt, constanter ac intrepide iustitiam ac hereditatem suam defensuros esse.

Quod autem ad religionem attinet, significatum iam pridem fuisse Summo Pontifici Lutheranismum apud ipsum Ordinem sacrosanctum, Romanam vero ecclesiam execrabilem esse, plebsque commendatores, quos vocant, et sacrificos nubere, altaria et imagines demolitas, ceremonias et ritus ecclesiasticos sublato, sacra omnia profanata, haecque non modo non animadversa et correcta esse per eius Sanctitatis aut Caesaream auctoritatem, sed etiam ab utraque hactenus Ordinem ipsum adversum nos, Sedi Apostolicae fidos et obsequentes continueque cum Infidelibus decertantes, folum esse et adiutum. Neque Serenissimum Regem neque ullum Polonum occasionem dedisse, neque etiamnum dare Ordini religionis abiiciendae, suum dumtaxat ius ab illo exigere, satis esse regnum et dominia regni Poloniae ab hac peste heretica, iam ubique in vicinia grassante, tueri et conservare. De aliis viderint illi, ad quos magis pertinet. . .

Talibus utrinque rationibus tota ferme Quadragesima per senatum nostrum . . . disputatis, conventum est tandem: nullam unquam pacem aut inducias firmas cum Ordine fuisse necdum fieri posse, proindeque cum, tempore sic ferente, a sua professione descisceret, et bona ipsius inique alioqui occupata ad Maiestatem regiam, uti hereditarium dominum, iure reciderent, pro quibus in tanto reipublicae Christianae discrimine noxium foret bellum excitare: concederetur, quod Magister et omnes subditi ipsius postulant.

De religione vero reficienda cum universae Germaniae con-

sultum fuerit, quod iam pridem tantum incendium exposcit, etiam huic minori parti facile provideri et omnia ad rectum tramitem reduci posse, praesertim firmata in terris illis regia auctoritate.

No. 94. The ducal and episcopal prefaces in Prussia, 1530.

(1) Sollicitudinem rerum profanarum nos ipsi hactenus subivimus, nullum ibi laborem unquam . . . declinaturi. Divinorum vero curam pertinere volumus ad . . . episcopum Pomezaniensem et Sambiensem, ad eos quoque eruditos piosque viros, quos illi in sociam curam adsciverint. . . Quemadmodum quidam clarissimi imperatores atque principes, posito diademate una cum paludamento, haud erubuerunt submittere sese auctoritati episcoporum . . . sic nos quoque, licet potentia inferiores, non minori tamen reverentia habere volumus auctoritatem nostrorum episcoporum atque doctrinae divinis verbis comprobatae.

(2) Cum videremus multas graves causas in ecclesiis nostri ducatus negligentius curari ab iis quorum intererat illas cognoscere diiudicare et componere, ut omnia ordine et decenter fierent, quemadmodum Paulus ad Corinthios monet, coacti sumus alienum officium, hoc est episcopale, in nos sumere ut, quantum fieri possit, corrigenda aliquo modo mutarentur adeoque in meliorem formam et statum dirigerentur.

No. 95. The German Mass and Order of Divine Service, Jan. 1526.

(i) The Preface of Martin Luther.

Above all things, I most affectionately and for God's sake beseech all, who see or desire to observe this our *Order of Divine Service*, on no account to make of it a compulsory law, or to ensnare or make captive thereby any man's conscience; but to use it agreeably to Christian liberty at their good pleasure as, where, when and so long as circumstances favour and demand it. Moreover, we would not have our meaning taken to be that we desire to rule, or by law to compel, any one. Meanwhile, there is on every side great pressure towards a *German Mass and Order of Divine Service*: and there is

great complaint and offence about the different kinds of new Masses, that every one makes his own, some with a good intention and others out of conceit to introduce something new themselves and to make a good show among others and not be bad masters. As then always happens with Christian liberty, few use it for anything else than their own pleasure or profit : and not for God's honour and the good of their neighbour. While, however, every man is bound on his conscience, in like manner as he uses such liberty himself, not to hinder nor forbid it to any one else, we must also take care that liberty be servant to love and to our neighbour. Where, then, it happens that men are offended or perplexed at such diversity of use, we are truly bound to put limits to liberty ; and, so far as possible, to endeavour that the people are bettered by what we do and not offended. Since, then, in these matters of outward ordinance nothing is laid upon us as matter of conscience before God, and yet such ordinance can be of use to our neighbour, we ought in love, as St. Paul teaches, to endeavour to be of one and the same mind ; and, to the best of our power, of like ways and fashion ; just as all Christians have one baptism and one sacrament, and no one has a special one given him of God.

Still, I do not wish hereby to demand that those who already have a good *Order* or, by God's grace, can make a better, should let it go, and yield to us. Nor is it my meaning that the whole of Germany should have to adopt forthwith our Wittenberg *Order*. It never was the case that the ministers, convents, and parishes were alike in everything. But it would be a grand thing if, in every several lordship, *Divine Service* were conducted in one fashion ; and the neighbouring little townships and villages joined in the cry with one city. Whether in other lordships they should do the same or something different, should be left free and without penalty. In fine, we institute this *Order* not for the sake of those who are Christians already. For they have need of none of these things (for which things' sake man does not live : but they live for the sake of us who are not yet Christians, that they may make us Christians) ; they have their *Divine Service* in their spirits. But it is necessary to have such an *Order* for the sake of those who are to become Christians, or are to grow stronger ; just as a Christian has need of baptism, the word and the sacrament not as a Christian (for, as such, he has them already), but as a sinner. But, above all, the *Order* is for the simple and for

the young folk who must daily be exercised in the Scripture and God's Word, to the end that they may become conversant with Scripture and expert in its use, ready and skilful in giving an answer for their faith, and able in time to teach others and aid in the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. For the sake of such, we must read, sing, preach, write, and compose ; and if it could in any wise help or promote their interests, I would have all the bells pealing, and all the organs playing, and everything making a noise that could. The Popish *Divine Services* are to be condemned for this reason that they have made of them laws, work, and merit ; and so have depressed faith. And they do not direct them towards the young and simple, to practise them thereby in the Scripture and Word of God ; but they are themselves stuck fast in them, and hold them as things useful and necessary to salvation : and that is the devil. For in this wise the ancients have neither ordered nor imposed them.

Now there are three different kinds of Divine Service.

[1] The first, in Latin ; which we published lately, called the *Formula Missae*. This I do not want to have set aside or changed ; but, as we have hitherto kept it, so should we be still free to use it where and when we please, or as occasion requires. I do not want in anywise to let the Latin tongue disappear out of Divine Service ; for I am so deeply concerned for the young. If it lay in my power, and the Greek and Hebrew tongues were as familiar to us as the Latin, and possessed as great a store of fine music and song as the Latin does, Mass should be held and there should be singing and reading, on alternate Sundays in all four languages—German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. I am by no means of one mind with those who set all their store by one language, and despise all others ; for I would gladly raise up a generation able to be of use to Christ in foreign lands and to talk with their people, so that we might not be like the Waldenses in Bohemia whose faith is so involved in the toils of their own language that they can talk intelligibly and plainly with no one unless he first learn their language. That was not the way of the Holy Ghost in the beginning. He did not wait till all the world should come to Jerusalem, and learn Hebrew. But He endowed the office of the ministry with all manner of tongues, so that the Apostles could speak to the people wherever they went. I should prefer to follow this example ; and it is right also that the youth should be practised in many languages.

Who knows how God will make use of them in years to come? It is for this end also that schools are established.

[2] Next, there is the *German Mass and Divine Service*, of which we are now treating. This ought to be set up for the sake of the simple laymen. Both these kinds of Service then we must have held and publicly celebrated in church for the people in general. They are not yet believers or Christians. But the greater part stand there and gape, simply to see something new: and it is just as if we held Divine Service in an open square or field amongst Turks or heathen. So far it is no question yet of a regularly fixed assembly wherein to train Christians according to the Gospel: but rather of a public allurements to faith and Christianity.

[3] But the third sort [of Divine Service], which the true type of Evangelical Order should embrace, must not be celebrated so publicly in the square amongst all and sundry. Those, however, who are desirous of being Christians in earnest, and are ready to profess the Gospel with hand and mouth, should register their names and assemble by themselves in some house to pray, to read, to baptize and to receive the sacrament and practise other Christian works. In this Order, those whose conduct was not such as befits Christians could be recognized, reformed, rejected, or excommunicated, according to the rule of Christ in Matt. xviii. Here, too, a general giving of alms could be imposed on Christians, to be willingly given and divided among the poor, after the example of St. Paul in 2 Cor. ix. Here there would not be need of much fine singing. Here we could have baptism and the sacrament in short and simple fashion: and direct everything towards the Word and prayer and love. Here we should have a good short Catechism about the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. In one word, if we only had people who longed to be Christians in earnest, Form and Order would soon shape itself. But I cannot and would not order or arrange such a community or congregation at present. I have not the requisite persons for it, nor do I see many who are urgent for it. But should it come to pass that I must do it, and that such pressure is put upon me as that I find myself unable with a good conscience to leave it undone, then I will gladly do my part to secure it, and will help it on as best I can. In the meantime, I would abide by the two Orders aforesaid; and publicly among the people aid in the promotion of such Divine Service, besides preaching, as shall exercise the youth

and call and incite others to faith, until those Christians who are most thoroughly in earnest shall discover each other and cleave together; to the end that there be no faction-forming, such as might ensue if I were to settle everything out of my own head. For we Germans are a wild, rude, tempestuous people; with whom one must not lightly make experiment in anything new, unless there be most urgent need.

Well, then: in the name of God. The first requisite in the German system of Divine Worship is a good, plain, simple, and substantial Catechism. A Catechism is a form of instruction by which heathen, desirous of becoming Christians, are taught and shown what they are to believe, to do, to leave undone and to know in Christianity. Hence mere learners who were admitted to such instruction, and were acquiring the rudiments of the Christian faith before their baptism were called catechumens. This instruction or information I know no better way of putting than that in which it has been put from the beginning of Christianity till to-day: I mean, in those three articles of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. In those three articles is contained, plainly and briefly, all that a Christian needs to know.

(ii) Of Divine Service.

Now since in all Divine Service the chief and foremost part is to preach and teach the Word of God, let us begin with the preaching and teaching.

[1] On Holy Days and Sundays we would have the usual Epistle and Gospel to continue, and have three sermons. About 5 a.m. or 6 a.m., some Psalms should be sung, as for Mattins; then a sermon on the Epistle for the day, chiefly for the sake of servants that they also may be provided for and may hear the Word of God, if they are not able to be present at other sermons. After that, an antiphon with *Te Deum* or *Benedictus* alternately, with *Our Father*, Collect, and *Benedicamus Domino*. At Mass, about 8 a.m. or 9 a.m., there should be a sermon on the Gospel, as found according to the season. In the afternoon, at Vespers, before *Magnificat*, sermons in regular course. The reason why we have retained the division of the Epistles and Gospels into portions corresponding with the season of the [Church's] year is that we have nothing particular to find fault with in such arrangement. It has been the case at Wittenberg up till now that there are

many there who are to learn to preach in the districts where the old apportionment of Epistle and Gospel still goes on and will probably continue. As, then, we can be of use to such and help them thereby, in our judgement, we suffer the custom to continue; without, however, finding fault with those who adopt the books of the Gospels as a whole. Hereby we provide that the layman has preaching and teaching enough: but, if a man wants more, he may find it on other days.

[2] Thus on Monday and Tuesday mornings there should be a lesson in German on the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, on Baptism and the Sacrament; so that on these two days the Catechism may be kept up and grasped in its proper sense. On Wednesday morning a lesson in German, for which is appointed the Gospel of St. Matthew. The day is to be kept specially for this Gospel: for Matthew is a fine evangelist to teach the people by, and he relates Christ's good Sermon on the Mount, and makes much of the practice of love and good works. But the evangelist John, who teaches faith with special force, should also have his own day—Saturday afternoon at Vespers. And so we have two Evangelists in daily use. On Thursday and Friday mornings there are the daily lessons week by week of the Apostolic Epistles and the rest of the New Testament. This makes sufficient provision for lessons and preaching, to set the Word of God going, except it be for lectures in the Universities to the learned.

[3] We come now to practising boys at school in the Bible. Every week-day, before the lesson, let them sing some psalms in Latin, as has been customary hitherto at Mattins; for, as we have said, we wish the young to be trained and practised in the Latin tongue, through the Bible. After the psalms, the boys two or three in turn, according to its length, should read a chapter in Latin out of the New Testament. Then let another boy read the same chapter in German for practice, and in case any layman were there to hear. After that, go on, with an antiphon, to the lesson in German of which we have spoken above. Then let the whole lot sing a German hymn, followed by the Lord's Prayer said silently; and let the parson or chaplain say a Collect and conclude with the *Benedicamus Domino*, as usual. In the same way at Vespers, let them sing the Vesper Psalms as sung hitherto, in Latin, with an antiphon; then a hymn, as there is opportunity. Then let them read, two or three, by turn, in Latin,

out of the Old Testament, a chapter or half a chapter according to its length. Then let one boy read it in German. Next, *Magnificat* in Latin, with an antiphon or chant. Then *Our Father* silently and the Collects with the *Benedicamus*. So much for *Divine Service* daily throughout the week in towns where there are schools.

(iii) On Sundays for the laity.

The Mass vestments, altars, and lights may be retained till such time as they shall all change of themselves, or it shall please us to change them: though, if any will take a different course in this matter, we shall not interfere. But in the true Mass, among sincere Christians, the altar should not be retained, and the priest should always turn himself towards the people as, without doubt, Christ did at the Last Supper. That, however, must bide its time.

[a] At the beginning then¹ we sing a spiritual song or a psalm in German, in *primo tono*, as follows: Ps. xxxiv.

[b] Then *Kyrie eleison*, to the same tone, but thrice and not nine times. . . .

[c] Then the priest reads a Collect in Effaut in *unisono*, as follows: 'Almighty God,' &c.

[d] Then the Epistle, in the eighth tone. . . . The Epistle should be sung with the face turned to the people, but the Collect with the face turned to the altar.

[e] After the Epistle is sung a German hymn, 'Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist,' or some other, by the whole choir.

[f] Then is read the Gospel in the fifth tone, also with the face turned towards the people.

[g] After the Gospel the whole congregation sings the Creed in German, 'Wir glauben all' an einen Gott,' &c.

[h] Then follows the sermon, on the Gospel of the Sunday or Holyday: and I think that, where the German Postills are in use throughout the year, it were best to order the Postill of the day, either whole or part, to be read out of the book to the people; not merely for the preacher's sake who can do no better, but as a safeguard against fanatics and sectaries,—a custom of which one may see traces in the Homilies at Mattins. Otherwise, where there is no spiritual understanding,

¹ For comments see Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i. 410 sqq.; on Lutheran services see Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, ii. 1 sqq.; and for a convenient text, No. 37 of Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* (Bonn, 1909).

and the Spirit himself speaks not through the preacher (though I set no limits to the preacher ; for the Spirit can teach better than any Postills or Homilies) the end of it will be that every man will preach what he likes ; and, instead of the Gospel and its exposition, they will be preaching once more about blue ducks ! There are further reasons why we keep the Epistles and Gospels as they are arranged in the Postills, because there are but few inspired preachers who can handle a whole Gospel or other book with force and profit.

[i] After the sermon shall follow a public paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, with an exhortation to those who are minded to come to the Sacrament, in this, or some other better, fashion, as follows : ' Dear friends in Christ, as we are here gathered together, in the name of the Lord, to receive His holy Testament, I exhort you, first, to lift your hearts to God and to say with me 'Our Father' according as Christ our Lord hath taught us, faithfully promising that we shall be heard : ['Our Father,' &c., in paraphrase]. Next, I exhort you in Christ that with right faith ye take heed to the Testament of Christ : and specially that ye hold fast in your hearts the Word whereby Christ gives us His body and blood for remission of sins ; that ye bethink you of, and thank Him for, the infinite love which He has shown us in that through His blood He has redeemed us from God's wrath, from sin, death, and hell : and then take to yourselves outwardly the bread and wine, which is His body and blood, for an assurance and pledge thereof. In such wise will we, in His name and as He commanded in His own Word, handle and use His Testament.' Whether this paraphrase and exhortation should take place in the pulpit, immediately after the sermon, or at the altar, I leave free to every man's discretion. . . .

[k] Then the Office and Consecration proceeds, as follows : ' Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night ' (1 Cor. xi. 23 ff). I think that it would be in accordance with the Last Supper if the sacrament were distributed immediately after the consecration of the bread before the blessing of the cup. So say both Luke and Paul : ' Likewise also the cup after supper.' Meanwhile, there might be sung the *Sanctus* in German or the hymn 'Gott sei gelobet', or the hymn of John Huss, 'Jesus Christus unser Heiland.' And after this should come the consecration of the chalice and its delivery, with the singing of whatever remains of the above-mentioned hymns, or of the *Agnus Dei* in German.

And for the sake of good order and discipline in going up, not men and women together but the women after the men, men and women should have separate places in different parts of the church. As to private confession, I have already written enough about that: and my opinion may be found in the little prayer-book.

[*l*] The elevation we desire not to abolish but to retain, for it fits in well with the *Sanctus* in German, and means that Christ has bidden us to think of Him. Just as the sacrament is bodily elevated and yet Christ's body and blood therein are invisible, so through the word of the preacher He is commemorated and uplifted, and in the reception of the sacrament recognized and worshipped: and yet it is all a matter of faith and not of sight, how Christ gave His body and blood for us and still daily intercedes with God to bestow His grace upon us.

[*m*] The *Sanctus* in German, 'Jesaia dem Propheten das geschach,' &c.¹

[*n*] Then follows the Collect: 'We thank thee, Almighty Lord God,' &c.

[*o*] With the Blessing: 'The Lord bless thee and keep thee,' &c.

So much for daily Divine Service and for teaching the Word of God, specially with a view to influencing the young and alluring the simple. Those who come out of curiosity and the desire to gape at something new will soon be sick and tired of the whole thing, as they were before of Divine Service in Latin. For that was sung and read in church daily, and yet the churches are deserted and empty: and already they are prepared to do the same with the German Service. So it is best that such Divine Service should be arranged with an eye to the young and to those simple folk that may perhaps come to it. As for the rest, no law nor order, exhortation nor driving, that one can devise, is of any good to induce them to go willingly and of their own accord to Divine Service, so unwilling and reluctant are they to do so (though God takes no pleasure in forced service), so idle and good-for-nothing.

As for feast-days, such as Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, Michaelmas, Purification and the like, we must go on, as hitherto, with Latin till we have hymns enough in German for the purpose. The work is but beginning, and all that belongs

¹ For this and the other hymns here mentioned see Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, Nos. 24, 25 (Bonn, 1907).

to it is not yet ready. Only, as one knows, make a start one way and several ways and means will be discovered.

Fast-days, Palm Sunday, and Holy Week may be retained. Not that we would compel any one to fast; but that the reading of the Passion and the Gospels appointed for these times should be observed. But we would not keep the Lenten veil, strewing of palms, covering up of pictures, and all the other mummerly, nor sing the four Passions, nor preach on the Passion for eight hours on Good Friday. Holy week must be like other weeks, except that there should be sermons on the Passion for an hour daily throughout the week, or on as many days as is convenient, with reception of the Sacrament by all who desire it. For with Christians everything should be kept in God's service that has to do with the Word and the Sacrament.

To sum up, this and every other order is so to be used that should any misuse arise in connexion therewith, it should be immediately done away with and another made: just as King Hezekiah broke up and did away with the brazen serpent, which God Himself had commanded to be made, because the children of Israel misused it. Forms and Orders should be for the promotion of faith and the service of love, and not to injury of faith. When they have no more to do, they are forthwith dead and of no more worth; just as, if good coin is counterfeit, for fear of misuse it is abolished and destroyed; or as, when new shoes have become old and dry, we wear them no longer but throw them away and buy new ones. Order is an outward thing. Be it as good as it may, it can fall into misuse. Then it is no longer order but disorder. So no Order has any intrinsic worth of its own, as hitherto the Popish Order has been thought to have. But all Order has its life, worth, strength, and virtue in right use; else it is worthless and fit for nothing. God's Spirit and grace be with us all. Amen.

No. 96. Melancthon's Instructions for the Visitors,¹ 22 March 1528.

Luther's Preface.—[Allegat ante omnia visitationis exempla ex Novo Testamento, Petri nempe Act. ix. 32, Pauli et Barnabae, Act. xv. 36, Apostolorum Petrum et Iohannem mitten-

¹ Seckendorf's connecting words are in []. The pages referred to are those of the corresponding paragraphs in the original German as printed in Sebling, *Die Evang. Kirchenordnungen*, i. 149 sqq.

to it is not yet ready. Only, as one knows, make a start one way and several ways and means will be discovered.

Fast-days, Palm Sunday, and Hóly Week may be retained. Not that we would compel any one to fast; but that the reading of the Passion and the Gospels appointed for these times should be observed. But we would not keep the Lenten veil, strewing of palms, covering up of pictures, and all the other mummerly, nor sing the four Passions, nor preach on the Passion for eight hours on Good Friday. Holy week must be like other weeks, except that there should be sermons on the Passion for an hour daily throughout the week, or on as many days as is convenient, with reception of the Sacrament by all who desire it. For with Christians everything should be kept in God's service that has to do with the Word and the Sacrament.

To sum up, this and every other order is so to be used that should any misuse arise in connexion therewith, it should be immediately done away with and another made: just as King Hezekiah broke up and did away with the brazen serpent, which God Himself had commanded to be made, because the children of Israel misused it. Forms and Orders should be for the promotion of faith and the service of love, and not to injury of faith. When they have no more to do, they are forthwith dead and of no more worth; just as, if good coin is counterfeit, for fear of misuse it is abolished and destroyed; or as, when new shoes have become old and dry, we wear them no longer but throw them away and buy new ones. Order is an outward thing. Be it as good as it may, it can fall into misuse. Then it is no longer order but disorder. So no Order has any intrinsic worth of its own, as hitherto the Popish Order has been thought to have. But all Order has its life, worth, strength, and virtue in right use; else it is worthless and fit for nothing. God's Spirit and grace be with us all. Amen.

No. 96. Melanchthon's Instructions for the Visitors,¹ 22 March 1528.

Luther's Preface.—[*Allegat ante omnia visitationis exempla ex Novo Testamento, Petri nempe Act. ix. 32, Pauli et Barnabae, Act. xv. 36, Apostolorum Petrum et Iohannem mitten-*

¹ Seckendorf's connecting words are in []. The pages referred to are those of the corresponding paragraphs in the original German as printed in Seckling, *Die Evang. Kirchenordnungen*, i. 149 sqq.

tium Act. viii. 14, immo et ipsius Christi circumeuntis. Dein ex Veteri Testamento Samuelis, Eliae et Helisaei. Postea Episcoporum, qui ipso nomine suo visitationis officium indicant, vetus institutum et morem laudat, quod pastores et populos sibi commissos olim visitaverint; neque tamen tacet quomodo ab Episcopis fastu saeculi insolescentibus salutare et necessarium hoc visitationis officium neglectum, et vicariis, ab initio quidem Canonicis capitularibus, quos vocant; deinde, cum et hi otio torperent, officialibus demandatum fuerit. At hi [ait] citationibus vexabant homines in causis nummariis, neminem autem visitabant.

[p. 149] Tandem vero [pergit] eo delapsa est disciplina ut etiam Dominus officialis domi desideret et nebulonem quendam per oppida et pagos visitantem mitteret, qui audita in populis aut a delatoribus suggesta officiali referebat. Is postea pro munere suo exactorio nummos corradebat ab innocentibus, quos honore et fama spoliabat, unde caedes et alia mala orta sunt. Reliquum etiam mansit nomen synodi, id est, ut, loco synodorum, visitandi causa ab Episcopis habendarum, per missionarios illos nil nisi artes plebem pecunia emungendi exercerentur, tum excommunicationibus saeviretur, aut aliquando ordo antiphonarum et versuum in templis cantandorum renovaretur. Nemo [ait] curabat quid doceretur aut crederetur, vel quomodo Christiane et secundum charitatem viveretur, aut pauperibus prospiceretur, solatia infirmis, censurae profanis adhiberentur, neque alia ad officium pertinentia. Non nisi helluones erant qui devorabant quae aderant, nec quidquam quod non damnosum esset agebant ita ut sanctissimum illud Episcopi et visitoris munus in ludibrium versum sit. Nullus ordo sive status hominum purus et illibatus mansit, tot sectae quot collegia et monasteria ortae sunt, oppressa interim Ecclesia, extincta fide, versa in rixas et bella charitate, Evangelio occultato, et eius loco introductis humanis ordinationibus somniisque. Quid igitur mirum si Satanus larvis suis omnia repleverit, cum nemo opponeret auctoritatem aut industriam? Quid enim in primitiva etiam Ecclesia diligentissima Apostolorum cura profecerit, ex Pauli querelis ad Corinthios, Galatas et Thessalonicenses constat. Quid igitur comedones, lurcones, ventres illi pigri efficerent!

[p. 150] Nunc restituta per divinam misericordiam Evangelii luce et deprehensa foeda illa Christianae Ecclesiae confusione, desideravimus quidem ut verum illud Episcoporum et visitationis munus reduceretur; sed, cum nemo nostrum vocaretur aut

iuberetur tantum opus aggredi, submisce petiimus a Serenissimo Electore, Iohanne Saxoniae Duce, Principe regionis indubitate a Deo constituto, licet lege humana ad id non obligetur, ut ex charitate Christiana et propter Deum, Evangelii et salutis subditorum curam susciperet, et graves quosdam viros ad hoc negotium delegaret. Petit annuit Princeps, et Iohannem a Planitz Equitem, Hieronymum Schurfium Iurisconsultum, Erasum ab Haugwitz (hos nempe in Thuringia, alios in aliis districtibus) et M. Philippum Melancthonem mandatis instruxit. . . .

[p. 151] Quia diabolus divina opera non potest inviolata relinquere, iam per inimicos nostros multa in instituto hoc nostro sugillare coepit ita ut quidam gloriantur poenituisse nos doctrinae nostrae et plurima retractasse (utinam modo ipsi ita revocarent); igitur decrevi omnia quae visitatores egerunt et Serenissimo Electori in scriptis exhibuerunt, ab ipsis diligenter collecta et ad me missa, typis publicare, ut omnibus constet nos nihil clanculum agere sed in lucem laetos prodire. Non edimus haec ut praecepta rigorosa nec Pontificia decreta denuo cudimus, sed historica et acta referimus et confessionem et symbolum fidei nostrae. Speramus tamen omnes pios et modestos pacisque studiosos pastores, quibus ex admonitione Pauli (Phil. ii. 2) unanimitas doctrinae evangelicae cordi est, agnituros curam Principis nostri nostramque charitatem et bonam intentionem, neque eam superbe contempturos sed potius ex genio charitatis sponte secuturos esse, donec meliora Spiritus Sanctus per illos aut nos ostenderit.

Qui hic resistere absque fundamento et ex malitiosa obstinatione velint, eos sinemus seipsos ut paleam a tritico separare, neque tamen opem Principis implorare penitus negligemus. Quanquam enim illi regimen Ecclesiae non est mandatum, curare tamen supremi magistratus merito debent, ne contentiones et schismata inter subditos oriantur, idque Constantini exemplo, Episcopos Nicaeam convocantis. [Votum addit] pro unanimitate, eique summa diligentia studendum esse [ait] neque tamen sic diabolum cessaturum esse ab astu et malitia sua. [Haec Lutherus in praefatione.]

The Instructions [p. 152].—§ 1 *De doctrina*. [Admonentur pastores et concionatores ut] doctrinam de poenitentia sive de agnitione peccatorum et ex ea oriente contritione et timore iudicii divini a doctrina de fide non separent, ne plebem ad securitatem deducant ut ea remissionem peccatorum se obtinere credat absque poenitentia et contritione. Hic error [aiunt idque infra repetunt] omnibus hucusque inveteratis deterior esset.

Integre ergo doceri debet Evangelium, nihil addendum ut a Pontificibus plus satis factum esse merito querimus, sed et nihil detrahendum. Exhortati itaque sumus pastores ut plebem de peccatis manifestis arguant et a falsa sanctimonia ad veram ducant poenitentiam. Quamvis enim nihil priusquam de fide docere velint sed poenitentiam ut sequelam fidei proponere, ne adversarii nobis imputent ac si doctrinam nostram revocaverimus; considerare tamen debent poenitentiam et legem ad fidem (quatenus notitia est credendorum) pertinere (credi enim debet Deum esse qui minatur, mandat et terret), et rudi plebi proponenda est in tractatu de fide, etiam poenitentia, lex, timor etc. ut tanto distinctius intelligat quid sit fides iustificans [Rom. iii. 28] et quid sit lex et poenitentia, et a quaestionibus inutilibus abstrahatur.

§ 2. *De lege et contritione.* De lege [idem specialius tractant et] explicari [iubent] decalogum, et exaggerari peccata in eo prohibita, eorumque poenas. . . . [p. 153] Fides enim solatium et gaudium afferre debet, at hoc sentiri non potest nisi prius sentiatur contritio. Pauperibus enim praedicatur Evangelium. Duae sunt partes fidei sive religionis Christianae, poenitentia nempe sive contritio ob peccata, dein fiducia de remissione peccatorum, tertia est vitae Christianae sive bonorum operum exercitium, quorum praecipua recensentur. Bona autem sunt quae a Deo praecepta et proximo utilia sunt.

(Of the remaining sixteen articles Nos. 3-13 deal with doctrine and are entitled § 3 of Prayer, § 4 of the Cross, § 5 of Baptism, § 6 of the Body and Blood of the Lord, § 7 of Penance, § 8 of Confession, § 9 of Satisfaction, § 10 of Church Order, § 11 of Matrimony, § 12 of Free Will, § 13 of Christian Liberty; No. 14 is 'of the Turk'; No. 15 of Daily Service in Church; No. 16 of Excommunication; No. 17 'of Superintendents'; No. 18, 'of Schools': and this last lays down the normal plan of education for the Latin schools of the country. See Sehling, i. 153 sqq.)

No. 97. Luther's Short Catechism, July 1529.

PREFACE

*Martin Luther to all faithful, pious pastors, and preachers :
Grace, mercy, and peace in Jesus Christ our Lord.*

In setting forth this Catechism or Christian doctrine in such a simple, concise, and easy form, I have been compelled and

driven by the wretched and lamentable state of affairs which I discovered lately when I acted as inspector. Merciful God, what misery I have seen, the common people knowing nothing at all of Christian doctrine, especially in the villages! and unfortunately many pastors are wellnigh unskilled and incapable of teaching; and though all are called Christians and partake of the Holy Sacrament, they know neither the Lord's Prayer, nor the Creed, nor the Ten Commandments, but live like the poor cattle and senseless swine, though, now that the Gospel is come, they have learnt well enough how they may abuse their liberty.

O ye bishops, how will ye ever answer for it to Christ that ye have so shamefully neglected the people, and have not attended for an instant to your office? May all evil be averted from you! Ye forbid the taking of the Sacrament in one kind, and insist on your human laws, but never inquire whether they know the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, the Ten Commandments, or any of the words of God. Oh, woe upon you for evermore!

Therefore I pray you for God's sake, my good masters and brethren who are pastors or preachers, to attend to your office with all your heart, to take pity on your people, who are commended to your charge, and to help us to introduce the Catechism among the people, especially among the young; and let those who cannot do better take these tables and forms, and instruct the people in them word for word; in this wise:—

First, the preacher must above all things beware of and avoid the use of various and different texts and forms of the Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Belief, Sacrament, &c.; he must take one form and keep to it, and constantly teach the same, year after year. For the young and simple folk must be taught one definite text and version, else they will easily become confused, if to-day we teach thus and next year thus, as though we wanted to improve it, and so all our labour and toil is lost.

This was clearly seen by the worthy fathers, who used the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, the Ten Commandments, all in one form. Therefore we must always teach the young and simple folk in such a manner that we do not alter one syllable, or preach to-morrow differently from to-day.

Therefore choose whatever form thou wilt, and ever keep to it. But if thou preachest to scholars or wise men, thou mayest show thy skill, and vary these articles, and twist them as subtly

as thou canst. But with the young keep always to one form, and teach them first of all these articles, namely, the Ten Commandments, the Belief, the Lord's Prayer, &c., according to the text, word for word, so that they may repeat them and learn them by heart.

But as for those who will not learn, let them be told that they deny Christ and are no Christians, and let them not be admitted to the Sacrament, be sponsors to any child, or enjoy any of the liberty of Christians, but be handed over simply to the Pope and his officers, yea, to the devil himself. Besides this, let their parents or masters refuse them food and drink, and tell them that the prince will have such rude people driven from the land.

For though we cannot and may not force any to believe, yet we must train and urge the multitude so that they may know what is right and wrong among those with whom they have their dwelling, food, and life. For whoever would dwell in a town must know and keep the law of which he would enjoy the privileges, whether he believe it, or be a rogue and good-for-nothing in his heart.

Secondly, when they know the text well, teach them next to understand it, so that they know what it means, and take once more the method of these tables, this or some other short method, whichever thou wilt, and keep to it, and do not alter one syllable, just as we said of the text, and take time and leisure over it. For it is not necessary to expound all at once, but one thing after the other. When they understand the First Commandment well, then take the Second, and so on, else they will be overwhelmed and retain none.

Thirdly, now when thou hast taught them this short Catechism, then take the larger Catechism, and give them a deeper and fuller explanation. Explain every commandment, petition, and article, with its various works and uses, its dangers and abuses, as thou wilt find them in abundance in the many little books written about them. And especially dwell on that commandment that is most neglected among thy people. For example, the Seventh¹ Commandment, about stealing, must be vehemently urged among artisans, tradesmen, and also among peasants and servants, for among such people there is all manner of unfaithfulness and thieving. Again, the Fourth Commandment must be specially urged upon children

¹ *i. e.*, the Eighth, as we number them; and so the Fourth, presently mentioned, is our fifth.

and the common people, that they may be quiet, faithful, obedient, peaceful; and thou must always adduce many examples from the Bible of how God punished or blessed such people.

Especially urge authorities and parents that they govern well and send the children to school, and admonish them how it is their duty to do this, and what an accursed sin they commit if they neglect it. For thereby they overthrow and desolate both God's kingdom and the world's, as the worst enemies both of God and man. Lay also great stress on the horrible injury they do, if they do not help to train children for pastors, preachers, clerks, &c., and that God will punish them terribly. For it is very necessary to preach on this subject. Parents and magistrates now sin in this matter more than we can say. The devil has also most evil designs therein.

Finally, because the tyranny of the Pope is past, they will no longer come to the Sacrament, and despise it. Accordingly it is necessary to urge them, but with this caution: we must not force any one to belief or to the Sacrament, nor make any law prescribing time or place; but we ought to preach so that they come without our laws and, as it were, force us, their pastors, to give them the Sacrament. This we may do by saying to them, 'Whoever does not seek or desire the Sacrament, or demand it, at least once or four times a year, it is to be feared that he despises the Sacrament and is no Christian, just as he is no Christian who does not believe in or listen to the Gospel; for Christ did not say, "Omit or despise this," but "*This do as oft as ye drink it,*" &c.' He will surely have it done, and on no account neglected or despised. '*This do,*' He says.

But if there be any one who does not greatly prize the Sacrament, that is a sign that he has no sin, no flesh, no devil, no world, no death, no danger, no hell; that is, he believes in none, though he is head over ears therein and is doubly the devil's. On the other hand, he needs no mercy, life, paradise, kingdom of heaven, Christ, God, or anything that is good. For if he believed that he had so much evil and needed so much good, he would not neglect the Sacrament, in which so much help is given against evil, and so much good is bestowed. We should not then need to drive him to the Sacrament by any law, but he would come running and hurrying thither of his own accord, constrain himself, and urge you, that you should give him the Sacrament.

So thou must not establish any law herein like the Pope. Only dwell on the good and harm, necessity and blessing, the danger and salvation, in the Sacrament, and then they will come of their own accord, without your constraining them. But if they do not come, let them go their ways, and tell them they are the devil's, since they neither regard nor feel their own great need and God's gracious help. But if thou do not dwell on this, or if thou make a law and poison of it, then it is thy fault that they despise the Sacrament. How can they be otherwise than indifferent if thou sleep or keep silence? Therefore see to it, pastor and preacher! Our office has now become a different thing from what it was under the Pope: it has now become a real and saving office. Therefore it is more troublesome and full of labour, and is more encompassed by danger and temptation, and, moreover, brings little reward and thanks in this world. But Christ Himself will be our reward if we work faithfully. And so may the Father of all mercy help us, to whom be praise and thanks everlasting, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

I.—THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

How the master of the house should teach them simply to his household.

THE FIRST COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt have none other gods but Me.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear, love, and trust God above all things.

THE SECOND COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear and love God, so that we use not His name in cursing, swearing, witchcraft, lying, or deceiving, but in all our necessities call upon it, with prayer, praise, and thanks.

THE THIRD COMMANDMENT.

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear and love God, that we despise not preaching nor His word, but keep that word holy, and gladly hear it and learn it.

THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT.

Honour thy father and thy mother.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear and love God, that we do not despise nor anger our parents and masters, but reverence, serve, obey, love, and honour them.

THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt do no murder.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear and love God, that we do our neighbour no harm nor injury in his body, but help and further him in all bodily necessities.

THE SIXTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear and love God, that we live chaste and modest in word and deed, and that every one love and honour his spouse.

THE SEVENTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not steal.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear and love God, that we take not our neighbour's money nor goods, nor seek to obtain them by false dealing or deceit, but help him to keep and improve his goods and his sustenance.

THE EIGHTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear and love God, that we do not falsely deceive, betray, calumniate, nor slander our neighbour, but excuse him, speak well of him, and turn everything to the best.

THE NINTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear and love God, that we do not covet our neighbour's inheritance nor his house, nor seek to obtain them by a semblance of right, but help him and further him in retaining what is his own.

THE TENTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his.

What does that mean?

Answer. We are to fear and love God, that we do not seek to alienate or turn from our neighbour his wife, his servants, or his cattle, but exhort them to remain and do their duty to him.

Now what saith God of all these Commandments?

Answer. He saith thus:—

For I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me, and show mercy unto thousands in them that love Me and keep My commandments.

What does that mean?

Answer. God threatens to punish all who transgress these commandments. Wherefore we must fear His wrath and not break these commandments. But He promises His grace and all good things to all who keep these commandments. Wherefore we are to love and trust Him and gladly do according to His commandments.

II.—THE CREED.

How the master of the house is to explain it as simply as possible to his household.

THE FIRST ARTICLE: OF THE CREATION.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

What does that mean?

Answer. I believe that God has created me and all other creatures, and has given me, and preserves for me, body and soul, eyes, ears, and all my limbs, my reason and all my senses; and that daily He bestows on me clothes and shoes, meat and drink, house and home, wife and child, fields and cattle, and all my goods, and supplies in abundance all needs and necessities of my body and life, and protects me from all perils, and guards and defends me from all evil. And this He does out of pure fatherly and Divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or worthiness in me; for all which I am bound to thank Him and praise Him, and, moreover, to serve and obey Him. This is a faithful saying.

THE SECOND ARTICLE: OF THE REDEMPTION.

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried, He

descended into hell ; the third day He rose again from the dead ; He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father Almighty : from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

What does that mean ?

Answer. I believe that Jesus Christ, very God, born of the Father in eternity, and also very man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and damned man, and has won and delivered me from all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with gold and silver, but with His holy and precious blood and with His innocent passion and death, so that I might be His own, and might live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessing, just as He rose from the dead, and lives and reigns in all eternity. This is a faithful saying.

THE THIRD ARTICLE : OF THE SANCTIFICATION.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, a holy Christian Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

What does that mean ?

Answer. I believe that I cannot of my own understanding and strength believe in or come to Jesus Christ my Lord, but that the Holy Ghost has called me by the Gospel, and illuminated me with His gifts, and sanctified and preserved me in the true faith, just as He calls, gathers together, illuminates, sanctifies, and preserves in Jesus Christ all Christendom throughout the earth in the one true faith ; in which Christendom He daily bestows abundantly on me and all believers forgiveness of sins ; and on the last day He will awaken me and all the dead, and will give to me and all that believe in Christ eternal life. This is a faithful saying.

III.—THE LORD'S PRAYER.

How the master of the house should explain it as simply as possible to his household.

Our Father, which art in heaven.

What does that mean ?

Answer. With these words God invites us to believe that He is our true Father, and that we are His true children, so that we may pray to Him in confidence and in all trust, as little children do to their fathers.

THE FIRST PETITION.

Hallowed be Thy name.

What does that mean?

Answer. God's name, indeed, is already holy in itself, but we pray in this prayer that it may also be holy among us.

How is this done?

Answer. Where the word of God is taught in all purity and sincerity, and we live a holy life in accordance with it, as the children of God. In which our dear Father in heaven help us! But he who teaches and lives otherwise than the word of God teaches, he profanes among us the name of God from which defend us, heavenly Father.

THE SECOND PETITION.

Thy kingdom come.

What does that mean?

Answer. God's kingdom comes, indeed, of itself, without our prayer, but we ask in this prayer that it may also come to us.

How is this done?

Answer. When our heavenly Father gives us His Holy Spirit, that, through His mercy, we believe His holy word, and live a godly life, here for a time and for ever in heaven.

THE THIRD PETITION.

Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

What does that mean?

Answer. God's good and gracious will is done indeed without our prayer, but we ask in this prayer that it may also be done among us.

How is this done?

Answer. When God destroys and overthrows all evil counsel and ill-will, which would not let us keep holy the name of God or let His kingdom come, such as is the will of the devil, the world, and of our flesh; but strengthens and maintains us firmly in His word and faith unto our lives' end. That is His good and gracious will.

THE FOURTH PETITION.

Give us this day our daily bread.

What does that mean?

Answer. God gives daily bread, without our intercession, to all evil men, but we ask in this prayer that He will let us acknowledge and receive with thanksgiving our daily bread.

What signifies daily bread?

Answer. All that appertains to the nourishment and wants of our bodies, such as food, drink, clothes, shoes, house and

home, lands, cattle, money, goods, an honest wife, honest children, honest servants, honest, faithful magistrates, good government, good weather, peace, health, modesty, honour, good friends, faithful neighbours, and the like.

THE FIFTH PETITION.

And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.

What does that mean?

Answer. We ask in this prayer that our Father in heaven may not regard our sin, and may not because of it reject our prayer, for we are not worthy of anything we ask, neither have we deserved it; but that He will grant all to us of His grace, for we sin greatly each day and deserve nothing but punishment. And in our turn we will heartily forgive and do good to all those who sin against us.

THE SIXTH PETITION.

And lead us not into temptation.

What does that mean?

Answer. God, it is true, tempts no man, but we ask in this prayer that He will guard and preserve us, so that the devil, the world, and our flesh may not deceive us nor lead us into unbelief, doubt, and other great sins and crimes, and that, though we be tempted therewith, we may at length overcome and be victorious.

THE SEVENTH PETITION.

But deliver us from evil.

What does that mean?

Answer. We ask in this petition, as though to sum up, that our Father in heaven may deliver us from all evil of body, soul, goods, and honour; and that, finally, when our hour has come, He will grant us a blessed end, and in His mercy take us from this vale of tears to Himself in heaven.

Amen.

What does that mean?

Answer. That I am to be assured that such prayers are acceptable to our Father in heaven and are heard by Him, for He Himself has commanded us so to pray, and has promised to hear us. Amen, Amen, that is, Yea, yea; thus shall it be.

IV.—THE SACRAMENT OF HOLY BAPTISM.

How the master of the house should explain it as simply as possible to his household.

FIRSTLY.

What is baptism?

Answer. Baptism is not only simple water, but it is the water comprehended in God's commandment and united with God's word.

What then is this word of God?

Answer. What our Lord Christ says in the last chapter of St. Matthew: *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

SECONDLY.

What does baptism give us, and of what benefit is it?

Answer. It effects the remission of sins, frees us from death and the devil, and gives blessedness everlasting to those who believe what the word and the promise of God declare.

What is this word and promise of God?

Answer. What our Lord Christ says in the last chapter of St. Mark: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*

THIRDLY.

How can water effect such great things?

Answer. Truly water cannot do it, but the word of God, which is with and on the water, and the faith which believes such word of God in the water. For without the word of God the water is simple water, and not baptism; but with the word of God it is a baptism, that is, a gracious water of life, and a washing of regeneration in the Holy Ghost, as St. Paul says to Titus in the third chapter: *By the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour, that, being justified by His grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life. This is a faithful saying.*

FOURTHLY.

What signifies this baptism in water?

Answer. It signifies that the old Adam in us is to be drowned by daily repentance and penance, and is to die, with all sins and evil desires, and that daily is to arise and emerge a new man, who is to live before God in righteousness and purity for ever.

Where is this written?

Answer. St. Paul says to the Romans (chap. vi), *Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death, that like as*

Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.

V.—HOW THE SIMPLE FOLKS SHOULD BE TAUGHT TO CONFESS.

Confession consists of two parts : first, to confess our sins, and secondly, to receive the absolution or forgiveness bestowed by the confessor, as from God Himself, and not to doubt thereof, but firmly to believe that our sins are thereby forgiven in the sight of God in heaven.

What sins should we confess ?

To God we are to confess all sins, even those that we do not recognize, as we do in the Lord's Prayer ; but to the confessor we are only to confess such sins as we know and feel guilty of in our hearts.

Which are they ?

Examine thyself according to the Ten Commandments, whether thou art father, mother, son, daughter, master, mistress, manservant or maidservant, and see if thou hast been disobedient, unfaithful, and idle, whether thou hast done any one an injury by word or deed, whether thou hast been dishonest, negligent, slothful, or hast otherwise caused harm.

I pray thee, friend, tell me a short form of confession.

Answer. Say thus to thy confessor : Worthy reverend master, I pray you hear my confession, and declare absolution to me for God's sake.

Say thus : I, a poor sinner, confess myself guilty of all sins before God ; in particular I confess to you that I am a manservant or a maidservant, &c., but, alas ! I serve my master unfaithfully, for at such and such a time I have not done what they bade me, but angered them and moved them to swear ; I have neglected my work and caused damage ; I have been froward in word and deed ; I have been angry with my fellows, sullen to my wife, and I have sworn at her. All this I repent of, and I pray for mercy, and will seek to amend.

A master or mistress must say as follows :—

Especially I acknowledge to you that I have not faithfully trained my children and servants and my wife to the glory of God ; I have sworn, and given a bad example with unchaste words and deeds ; I have done injury to my neighbour, spoken ill of him, sold too dear, given short measure and false weight—and whatever else he may have done contrary to the commandments of God and his state in life.

But if any shall find that he is not burdened with similar or greater sins, he shall not be anxious or seek or invent further sins, and thus turn confession into a torture, but he must recount the one or two sins that he may remember. Thus : I confess especially that once I swore, also that I used unseemly words, neglected this or that duty. Let this suffice.

But if thou know of none (though this is wellnigh impossible), then mention none in particular, but receive forgiveness upon the general confession which thou makest to the confessor before God.

Thereupon the confessor shall say,—

God be merciful to thee, and strengthen thy faith. Amen.

Further :—

Dost thou believe that my forgiveness is God's forgiveness ?

Answer. Yea, reverend sir.

Then let him say,—

As thou believest, so be it unto thee. And, by command of our Lord Jesus Christ, I forgive thee thy sins, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen. Go in peace.

But if any are sorely afflicted in their conscience, or sorely grieved and tempted, the confessor will know how to comfort them with various words of Scripture, and how to lead them to faith. This is merely to serve as a general mode of confession for the simple folk.

VI.—THE SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR.

How the master of the house should explain it simply to his household.

What is the Sacrament of the Altar ?

Answer. It is the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the Bread and Wine, for us Christians to eat and to drink, under the institution of Christ Himself.

Where is this written ?

Answer. Thus say the holy Evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke, and St. Paul :—

The Lord Jesus, in the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, Take ; eat. This is My body, which is given for you ; this do in remembrance of Me.

After the same manner also He took the cup when He had supped, and gave it to them, saying, Take this and drink ye all of it. This cup is the new testament in My blood, which is

shed for you for the forgiveness of sins; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

What avails it to eat and drink thus?

Answer. This is shown us by the words, '*Given for you and shed for you for the remission of sins.*' That is to say, that in the Sacrament forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation are bestowed on us by these words. For where forgiveness of sins is, there is also life and salvation.

How can bodily eating and drinking accomplish these great things?

Answer. Eating and drinking do not indeed accomplish this, but the words which stand there, '*Given for you and shed for you for the remission of sins.*' These words, together with the bodily eating and drinking, are the most important part of this Sacrament, and whoever believes these words, he has what they say, and as they speak, namely, remission of sins.

Who, then, are they who receive this Sacrament worthily?

Answer. Fasting and bodily preparation are in truth a good external discipline, but he is truly worthy and prepared who believes the words, '*Given for you and shed for the remission of sins.*' But he who does not believe them is unworthy and not prepared. For the words, '*for you,*' demand truly believing hearts.

APPENDIX I.

How the master of the house should teach his household to commend themselves to God both night and morning.

THE MORNING BLESSING.

In the morning, when thou risest from thy bed, sign thyself with the Holy Cross, and say,—

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then, kneeling or standing, repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. If thou wilt, thou mayest also say this short prayer:—

I thank Thee, my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, that Thou hast preserved me through this night from all harm and danger, and I beseech Thee Thou wouldest protect me this day from sin and all evil, that all my deeds and my life may be pleasing in Thy sight. For I commend myself, my body and soul, and all, into Thy hands. Let Thy holy angel be with me, that the evil one may have no power over me. Amen.

And then go joyfully to thy work, and sing, if thou wilt,

a hymn, the Ten Commandments, or whatever else thy devotion suggests.

THE EVENING BLESSING.

At night, when thou goest to bed, sign thyself with the Holy Cross, and say,—

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then, kneeling or standing, repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. If thou wilt, thou mayest add this short prayer :—

I thank Thee, my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, that Thou hast graciously protected me through this day ; and I beseech Thee Thou wouldest forgive me all my sins wherever I have done wrong, and mercifully guard me this night. For I commend myself, my body and soul, and all, into Thy hands. Let Thy holy angel be with me, that the evil one may have no power over me. Amen.

And then to sleep quickly and cheerfully.

How the master of the house should teach his household to say the Benedicite and the Gratias.

The children and servants are to fold their hands, modestly approach the table, and say,—

The eyes of all wait upon Thee, and Thou givest them their meat in due season. Thou openest Thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.

Note.—Satisfaction signifies that all creatures get so much to eat that they are cheerful and happy over it, for care and greed prevent such satisfaction.

Then the Lord's Prayer and the following prayer :—

Lord God, our heavenly Father, bless us and these Thy gifts, which we accept from Thy merciful goodness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE GRATIAS.

After the meal they shall do likewise, and speak modestly with folded hands.

Give thanks unto the Lord, for He is gracious, and His mercy endureth for ever. He giveth fodder unto the cattle, and feedeth the young ravens that call upon Him. He hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse, neither delighteth He in any man's legs. But the Lord's delight is in them that fear Him and put their trust in His mercy.

Then the Lord's Prayer and the following prayer :—

We thank Thee, Lord God our Father, through Jesus Christ

our Lord, for all Thy mercies, Thou who livest and rulest for ever and ever. Amen.

APPENDIX II.

THE HOME TABLE.

Some Texts for divers holy orders and estates, which may serve to admonish them respectively of their offices and duties.

TO BISHOPS, PASTORS, AND CLERGY.

A bishop must be blameless ; the husband of one wife ; vigilant ; sober ; of good behaviour ; given to hospitality ; apt to teach ; not given to wine ; no striker ; not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient ; not a brawler ; not covetous ; one that ruleth well his own house ; having his children in subjection with all gravity ; not a novice ; holding fast the faithful word as he has been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers (1 Tim. iii and Titus i).

Quid debeant auditores episcopis suis.

Dominus ordinavit his, qui evangelium annuntiant, de evangelio vivere (1 Cor. ix. 14). Communicet doctori in omnibus bonis is qui docetur verbo (Gal. vi. 6). Qui bene praesunt presbyteri, duplici honore digni habeantur, maxime qui laborant in verbo et doctrina. Dicit enim scriptura ; non obligabis os bovi trituranti. Et : Dignus est operarius mercede sua (1 Tim. v. 17, 18). Obedite praepositis vestris et cedite eis. Ipsi enim vigilant, quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri, ut cum gaudio hoc faciant, et non gementes, hoc enim non expedit vobis (Ebr. xiii. 17).

OF MAGISTRATES.

Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God ; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For he beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil (Rom. xiii).

Quid subditi magistratibus debeant.

Reddite quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari (Matt. xxii. 21). Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit *et cet.* Ideoque necessitate subditi estote, non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam. Ideo enim et tributa praestatis. Ministri enim Dei sunt, in hoc ipsum servientes. Reddite ergo omnibus debita : cui tributum, tributum ; cui vectigal, vectigal ; cui timorem, timorem ; cui honorem, honorem (Rom.

xiii. 1-5 *sqq.*). Adhortor primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus, et omnibus qui in sublimitate constituti sunt, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus cum omni pietate et gravitate (1 Tim. ii. 1 *sqq.*). Admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse *cet.* (Titus iii. 1). Subditi estote omni humane creature propter Dominum, sive regi tamquam precellenti, sive ducibus tamquam ab eo missis (1 Peter ii. 13 *sqq.*).

TO HUSBANDS.

Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honour unto the wife as unto the weaker vessel and as being heirs together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered (1 Peter iii). And be not bitter against them (Col. iii).

TO WIVES.

Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord, even as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord, whose daughters ye are as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement (Eph. i; 1 Peter iii).

TO PARENTS.

Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord (Eph. vi).

TO CHILDREN.

Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honour thy father and thy mother, which is the first commandment with promise, namely, that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth (Eph. vi. 1, &c.).

TO MENSERVANTS, MAIDSERVANTS, DAY-LABOURERS AND WORKMEN.

Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart as unto Christ, not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but as servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, with goodwill doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men, knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free (Eph. vi. 5, &c.).

TO THE MASTER AND MISTRESS OF A HOUSEHOLD.

And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your Master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with Him (Eph. vi. 9).

TO THE YOUNG IN GENERAL.

Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder. Yea, all of you, be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility, for God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble. Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that He may exalt you in due time (1 Peter v, &c.).

TO WIDOWS.

Now she that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day; but she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth (1 Tim. v).

TO ALL.

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; in this saying all commandments are comprehended (Rom. xiii). I exhort therefore that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men (1 Tim. ii).

‘Let each one learn his lesson well;
Then in the house content will dwell.’

Gin jeder lern sein Lektion

So wird es wohl im Hause stohn.

Cuique sit imprimis magnae sua lectio curae

Ut domus officiis stet decorata suis.

*Πᾶς ἰδίην ἀνάγνωσιν ἑῆς παραπίδεσσω ἀθρήσας
οἶκον ἔχει πυκινῶν εὐπορέοντα καλῶν.*

No. 98. Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae,

20 Oct. 1526.

Synodus Hessiaca in nomine Domini apud Hombergum congregata universis et singulis Christi nomen invocantibus, ad quos haec nostra pervenerint, pax et gratia a Deo Patre nostro et Domino nostro Iesu Christo.

Benedictus Deus Dominus noster qui, post tam diutinas tenebras nostri misertus, aeternae veritatis suae lucem immisit, et Christum quem spiritus impostores et doctrinae daemoniorum subobscurarunt, nobis denuo palam fecit. Hinc nobis laetitia vera, et perpetua nominis sui benedictio, cuius fiducia decernimus, abiectis impiis hominum traditionibus, vivere et regi verbo suo, quod omnium fidelium est unica et ea quidem certa ad salutem regula. . . Ea ratione pro universis Hassiae nostrae Ecclesiis, et si deinde nonnullae aliae ad idem nostro exemplo provocarentur, conscripsimus hic quae ipsis

Ecclesiis utilia fore vidimus, de quibus parati sumus Deo et Caesari ex Dei verbo reddere rationem, prout in novissimis Imperialibus Comitibus Spirae celebratis fuit definitum. . . .

Cap. i. *De cultu Dei vero.*—Venit hora, qua Deus vult spiritu et veritate coli (Iohan. iv. 23) quod tum fit dum iuxta verbum aeternae veritatis suae colitur. Proinde in omnibus Ecclesiis nostris iuxta idem verbum purissime colatur, et omnis diversus cultus ab eis propellatur; tametsi etiam cultus ipse Dei in fidei puritate sit, opera tamen quaecunque externa, quae iuxta verbum fidei a nobis fiunt, et quibus nos Dei cultores esse testamur, ad cultum Dei pertinent. Sic Deus in omnibus ecclesiis colendus est.

Cap. ii. *De ecclesiarum regimine.*—Quia grex Christi solam audit vocem Pastoris sui et non audit voces aliorum (Ioh. x. 5), non admittimus verbum aliud quam ipsius pastōris nostri; quin potius in Dei virtute interdicimus ne aliud omnino verbum ab episcopis in Ecclesia doceatur et secundum illud de cetero ipsae Ecclesiae regantur. Quod si quis aliud verbum quasi ad salutem necessarium docuerit, deponatur et communione privetur. Porro quaecunque hic pro decenti agendorum in Ecclesiis ordine conscripsimus, et Dei verbo speciatim haud quaquam iubentur, nolumus alioqui quam pro sanis et a verbo Dei non dissentientibus consiliis a quoquam haberi, quae tamen possint urgente Christi gloria immutari.

Cap. iii. *De Eucharistia vel Coena Dominica.*—Quotquot Coenae Dominicae participes esse volunt, simul et pani et poculo benedictionis communicent, sicut Dominus instituit, et qui aliud docuerit, et admonitus Dei verbo non acquieverit, communione privetur, et praeterea si episcopus est deponatur. Non celebretur ipsa Coena, nisi adsint qui communicent. Admoneant autem Ecclesiam episcopi, ut ad hanc venerabilem Coenam singulis Dominicis conveniant eidem participaturi, verum se ipsos prius probent, ne in iudicium conveniant; ad idque, si desolatae sunt ipsorum conscientiae, laudamus et consulimus ut adeant episcopum vel illius adiutorem aut aliquem ex piis doctisque fratribus confitentes peccatum suum, et audituri ab iis verbum sanctum, ut infra de Confessionibus. Ceterum qui eam cupiunt, episcopo aut ministro eius se ipsos indicent, et ante Coenam ipsam segregentur in locum unum ab his qui tum participare nolunt, ut eorum numerus sciri valeat. Admonemus autem universos in Domino qui tum aderunt, etiam qui sanctae mensae non sunt externe participaturi, ut sint memores sacrificii nostri Christi semel pro nobis

oblati, cuius haec Coena memoriale est, quod et paucis ab episcopo semper est declarandum.

Canon ille missarius, et universae orationes, in quibus reperitur sacrificii aut hostiae vox, a nemine ultra in hac Coena dicatur. Nemo praeterea audeat hanc Coenam sacrificare, ut loquuntur, pro vivis et mortuis, aut quacunque occasione, quod non sit nostrum sacrificium sed Dei Coena, et pro accepta per Christum beneficentia gratiarum actio, ac specialis commemoratio sacrificii, quo semel pro nobis senetipsum obtulit, omniumque memorabilium eius. Est quoque signum communionis omnium qui Christi [sumus] quod ad invicem nos membra esse sub ipso et eodem quidem uno capite Christo profitemur. . . . Praeterea nullae in ea dicantur orationes, quibus aut sanctorum invocatio aut meritorum eorundem memoria sit; solus enim Christus est advocatus noster . . . et unus mediator Dei et hominum. . . . Denique ipse solus est qui pro nobis omnibus meruit gratiam, gloriam et omne bonum. . . . Confitemur in hac Coena Christum Deum et hominem praesentem esse, et id quidem non vocibus imprecatoriis, ut de nobis quidam obloquuntur, sed decreto Dei vivi, quod est ipsissimum verbum suum, cuius ipsae voces signa sunt. Omniaque in hac Coena agantur vulgi lingua praeter has consuetas voces, *Kyrie eleison, Halleluia, Osannah, Sabaoth, Amen*, quas episcopi aliquando interpretentur, ut plebs omnia capiens in Dei verbo consoletur et spiritu et mente psallat. Servetur in ea ritus quem servus Dei Martinus Lutherus ultimo Germanice conscripsit; et ut iuxta Paulum cuncta decentius fiant, laudamus si in eius ministerio ad minus induatur superpellicium, incendantur cerei, et decens calix habeatur. Amodo nullae fiant impensae pro altarium paramentis, casulis, cappis seu chlamidibus et similibus, sed magis dispensentur egenis, quae in his frustra consumi consueverunt. Nimirum qui se putat in his colere Deum, sine causa id facit, quod sint purae et vanae hominum traditiones. Liberum autem sit habenti casulam eadem in Coenae Dominicae ministerio uti vel non, tantum de cetero haud quaquam emanatur, quod non in haec sed in pauperum usus quae donare volumus sint convertenda. Praeterea infirmorum solummodo causa iam emptis uti permittimus, certi quod nihil horum a nobis [postuletur] et maxime quidem ut egenis misericordiam praestemus, et illis necessaria partiamur. Denique semper habentur pauperes, quibus benefacere opus sit. Idcirco universis Ecclesiis in verbo eruditis liberum sit omnia id genus paramenta divendere; quod si fecerint, eorum pretium Diacono

norum ministerio pauperibus dispensetur. Dalmaticas, h. e. . . Papisticorum Diaconorum vestes aut Subdiaconorum nemo de cetero induat, nolumus enim favere ordinibus illis sine Dei eloquiorum testimoniis introductis. Ceterum Scriptura alios nescit ministros, praeterquam episcopos, presbyteros et pauperum diaconos. De Missariis aut Diaconis nec iota quidem unum in utroque testamento reperimus, tametsi episcoporum adiutores non incongrue diaconi, id est, ministri vocentur; diaconus enim ministrum, et diaconia ministerium significat.

Admonemus deinde in nomine Domini, ut organa nunquam aut rarissime pulsantur, ne in priscos relabamur errores. Si enim praesente ecclesia non est lingua peregrina utendum nisi interpretes adsint, ne homines non intelligant quod dicitur, minus profecto organis quod solis auribus sine animi fructu inserviant; plebs enim sonum quidem audit, sed sensum rei, quae organo pulsatur, ignorat. Neque a lege sumendum est exemplum, quod tum iusserit Dominus musicalia instrumenta pulsari, in Christi et ecclesiae figuram: at figura, praesente veritate, evanuit. Praeterea eadem pulsatio ad Levitici sacerdotii ministeria pertinebat, quae adveniente Christo cum ipso sacerdotio evacuata sunt.

Campanae ad Dominicae Coenae celebrationem et ad omnium fidelium congregationes sic pulsantur, ut audire valeat populus et congregari. Hortamur autem in Domino, ut vanus ille ac pomposus pulsationum strepitus ab universis vitetur, satis enim atque abunde foret campanam unam mediocrem pro signo pulsari.

Cap. iv. *Non reservandam in armariis Eucharistiam nec per plateas etiam infirmorum occasione circumferendam.* Quia usus sanctae Eucharistiae est perceptio¹ eius et communio fidelium in Christi commemorationem, nullibi amodo in armariis sive arcellis reservetur, nullaue ratione circumferatur; haec namque signa hominum sunt, ideoque vitanda. Quod si quis infirmorum ipsam Eucharistiam petit, accedat minister quacumque hora fuerit, et in domo infirmi Cognam hanc celebret, ad quam, si fieri potest, tres aliquos vocet qui cum infirmo communicent, orentque pro eo et consolentur eum cum verbo Domini, et minister ille paucis tantae Coenae mysteria declaret.

Cap. v. *De Oratione, Lectione et Canticis tam matutinis quam vespertinis.*—Quaecumque in praesentia Ecclesiae dicuntur . . . lingua cunctis notiori tradantur. . . Admonendi

¹ Contrast 'Perfectio huius sacramenti non est in usu fidelium sed in consecratione materiae'—S. Thos. Aq. *Summa* III. lxxx. 12 ad 2.

autem sunt universi fideles ut ad publicam Orationem et Lectionem, item ad Coenam Dominicam diligentissime conveniant. Ceterum haec amodo non fiant in choro, sed in medio ecclesiae decenter celebrentur ut omnes utriusque sexus discant . . . nomenque Dei simul glorificent; omnes enim in Christo sacerdotes facti sunt.

Ordinamus denique ut in universis ecclesiis laudes matutinae et vespertinae hoc ritu quotidie serventur, et primum matutinae sic [1. *Venite*; 2. Psalms; 3. Hymn; 4. Lesson from O. T.; with exposition, if desired; 4. *Benedictus*; 5. The Lord be with you, &c., Lord's Prayer (aloud); 6. Collect; 7. The Lord, &c. Bless we, &c. Thanks, &c.]. Quod spectat ad vespertinas laudes, omnia fiant sicut in matutinis, excepto quod non dicant Psalmum *Venite* . . . ex Novo caput unum legant . . . pro *Benedictus* canant *Magnificat* aut *Nunc Dimittis* . . . Dominicis tamen diebus ac festis cantetur utrumque. . .

Cap. vi. *De Confessione*.—Nemo quenquam ad confessionem illam peccatorum sine Dei eloquiorum auctoritate introductam compellere, ut hactenus, audeat. . . Laudamus publicam confessionem, quae in Coenae Dominicae initio fieri consuevit, modo lingua vulgi distincte et ab omnibus simul fiat. . .

Cap. vii. *De ieiuniis*.—Quia necesse est ut omnia fidelium opera sint ex fide . . . interdicimus universis episcopis in virtute Dei ne quis eorum dies aliquot ad ieiunandum ecclesiis praescribant, sed sinant unumquemque in divini Spiritus libertate vivere. . . Verum si quae gravis causa seu necessitas urgeat, liberum est Principi cum aliquo ecclesiarum consilio . . . diem unum et alterum ad ieiunandum instituere, non tamen de hac re legem perpetuam facere. . .

Cap. viii. *De festis et commemorationibus*.—Praeter Dominicum diem nullum festum celebretur, nisi pro mysteriis nostrae redemptionis. . . Haec de festis.

Fiant deinde in universis ecclesiis nostris memoriae D. Io. Baptistae, Sanctorum Apostolorum et Evangelistarum et B. Stephani protomartyris, non ut his diebus non operetur arte sua quisquam, sed ut confestim post laudes matutinas habeatur publicus sermo: quo facto, vadant ad labores suos. . .

Interdicimus universis Ecclesiis nostris . . . ne ultra dedicationes celebrent. . .

Interdicimus denique ne quis sanctos invocet. . . Praeterea nulla ecclesia nullo alio patrono glorietur quam Deo et D. N. I. C.

Cap. ix. *Exterminandum imaginum et idolorum cultum*.—

Quia statuæ et imagines in ecclesiarum domibus ac platearum angulis locisque eminentioribus positæ contra Dei verbum a multis coluntur, auferantur. . . . Adversus primum Dei præceptum ex diametro repugnant. . . . Altaria cuncta ab universis Ecclesiarum domibus auferantur, eo dempto ex quo Coena Dominica administratur, quod etiam non altare, sed mensa vocetur. . . .

Cap. x. *De superstitiosis benedictionibus.*—Nec panis nec vinum nec aqua nec sal nec fructus nec aliud quicquam ullo tempore superstitiose benedicatur, nec aliquid tale in fidelium domibus habeatur: nimirum creaturæ per verbum Dei benedictio, de qua 1 Tim. iv [5] non est aliquid tale, sed ut cum gratiarum actione et Dei laude omnia percipiamus. . . .

Cap. xi. *De Baptismo.*—Baptismus vulgariter administretur, in quo posteaquam verbum aliquamdiu fuerit prædicatum, nolumus unctionem chrismatis pigmentarii, magis cupientes baptizatis Spiritus Christi unctionem. Interdicimus autem in nomine Domini ne quis prohibeat fidelium parvulos baptizari, si quis vero contra fecerit, communione privetur. Interdicimus præterea ne quis denuo baptizetur. Quod si qui parvulorum ab obstetricibus aut aliis quibusvis secundum Christi institutionem in partus periculo fuere baptizati, nullatenus rebaptizentur. . . .

Cap. xii. *De infirmorum Visitatione.*—Si quis fidelium infirmatur, mox ut notum est episcopo aut eius adiutori, visitet infirmum cum aliquot senioribus et orent Deum pro eo, ut sanus fiat. . . . Et super ipsis infirmis pauperibus Diaconi maxime invigilent.

Cap. xiii. *De Ritu Sepeliendi.*—Nemo sepeliatur in claustris, ne præteritæ abominations denuo statui videantur, alioquin sepeliatur unusquisque ubi voluerit exemplo Abrahami et Patrum. Verum quia multi non habent propria sepulcra, eligat ecclesia quaelibet locum unum, in quo liberum sit cuivis fidei sepeliri, modo non sit excommunicatus. In sepulchris psalmi aliqui legantur ad iudicium cuiuslibet episcopi, et orent pro vivis, ut sancte vivant et moriantur. Omnia autem vulgi lingua fiant, tamen si omnes, qui sepulturae intersunt, latini sunt, possunt et latine omnia dici.

Dimittantur pompæ et impensæ funerales superfluae, magis autem pauperibus dispensentur, quæ in his frustra insumerentur. Laudandum autem si in funere habeatur aut sincera prædicatio verbi Dei, aut saltem iuxta ipsum brevitas admonitio. Nemo de conficto illo purgatorio amodo quicquam doceat,

alioqui communione privetur, et, si episcopus fuerit, deponatur; non est enim aliud purgatorium quam Dei ecclesia in qua fide purgamur et mundamur a peccatis.

Cap. xiv. *De sacro Coniugio*.—Qui uruntur, et non se continent iuxta Paulum 1 Cor. vii [9] matrimonium contrahant, etiam episcopi, monachi, et moniales. Connubium nimirum venerabile est universis, thorusque impollutus Heb. xiii. [4]. . .

Cap. xv. *De conventibus hebdomadariis, et qui in eos admittendi*.—Quia iuxta praeceptum Domini Matt. xviii [17], Si quis e fratribus peccans in confratres suos, eos admonentes audire contempserit, ecclesiae est dicendum. Ecclesia autem Dei congregatio fidelium est, fideles sunt aliquando congregandi, ut eis dicatur fratris impii rebellio et contemptus. . . . Quod et fieri debet aliis causis, nempe ut de Pastoris sui voce iudicent, eligantque sibi episcopos et diaconos, id est, adiutores et ministros eorum, ac pauperum diaconos, de quibus infra [cap. 25], utque illos deponant, si causa existit, et si quae alia a tota ecclesia sunt iuxta Dei verbum definienda. Ordinamus idcirco ut in quavis parochia, posteaquam verbum Domini fuerit in ea aliquamdiu praedicatum, singulis diebus Dominicis, aut mox a Coena Dominica, aut a prandio fiat conventus fidelium in congruo loco ad quem quotquot ex viris negotio Christi favent et in sanctorum numero habentur, conveniant ut cum episcopo de universis quae in ecclesia tractanda occurrerunt, definiant ex verbo Domini. . . . Huic fideles mulieres interesse quidem possunt, verum eis loqui in ecclesiis non permittitur, 1 Cor. xiv [34] et 1 Tim. ii [12]. Soli ergo viri definient.

Quia autem ad fidelium congregationem admittendi non sunt, qui contra fidei rationem vivunt, et ne quicquam immaturo consilio agatur, volumus ut pro hoc principio fiat separatio verorum fratrum a falsis fratribus ordine hoc posito.

Primo die Dominico, quo post verbum in tempus annuntiatum conveniunt, episcopus notam faciat Dei voluntatem ex Paulo 1 Cor. v [11] et ex 2 Ioh. [10] epistola, nempe quod veris fidelibus non sit communicandum, etiam his qui in fratrum numero habentur, si sunt scortatores, ebrii, &c. . . . aut qui aliam doctrinam adserunt quam purissimum Dei verbum: quam ob causam iuxta idem Dei verbum nullus sit amodo in ipsum conventum recipiendus sed ab eo excommunicandus, cuiuscunque sit conditionis aut sexus, qui praescriptis aut similibus criminibus offendiculum praebebit Evangelio. Ideo si quis nolit extra ipsam ecclesiam fieri, et videt se id genus criminibus irretitum, ad cor redeat, veteremque exuat hominem, et vitam

vivat Christo et ecclesia dignam : quod si infra xv dies non mutaverint vivendi rationem ut non ultra sint scandalo ecclesiae Dei, die xv, id est, tertia dominica ab ipsa ecclesia excommunicabuntur, etiam nominatim universi quorum scelera nota sunt, donec respiciant. Per totos autem illos xv dies episcopi haec saepius inculcent ne se non praemonitos fuisse queri possint. Quod si quis huic legi et praecepto Domini non vult subiici, nec in ipsum conventum nec ad Coenam Domini recipiatur nec pro fratre habeatur ; non potest enim nec debet doctrinae, mensae ac communionis particeps fieri, qui Deo iubente non vult pro criminibus suis extra communionem fieri. Idcirco ut praescripta sine tumultu fieri possint, verbum sanctum, sicut praediximus, aliquamdiu praedicetur, ut prius sit ecclesia Dei, quae fide in ipsum verbum constituitur, quam congregetur. Demum ut nemo dicere possit iudicio praecipiti quicquam factum, antequam fiat alicubi conventus iste, mense uno singulis Dominicis ac festis pronuntietur futurus Dominica quae hunc mensem sequetur, et praemoneantur omnes ne in ipsum conventum veniant, nisi velint et praescriptae et omnibus Dei legibus subiici, sicut opus est fidelibus cunctis. Mox autem ut praescripta Dominica congregati fuerint, qui in sanctorum numero haberi volunt, etsi pauci sunt, nihil expavescant, certi quod eorum numerus Deo propitio brevi augebitur verbi Dei efficacia, etsi a principio nonnisi viginti aut triginta essent. Deinde interrogentur sigillatim ab episcopo, si volunt praedictis legibus subditi esse, et iuxta Dei verbum excommunicari, quando causa esset ; tum, quotquot acquieverint, conscribantur. Quod si qui virorum contradicant, uxores eorum et liberi et servi conscribantur, si acquieverint pietati ; in ecclesia enim non est personarum delectus, quod in nullis externis sita sit. Qui vero acquiescere noluerint, exeant, et pro ethnicis ac his qui foris sunt habeantur. . . .

In his conventibus tractentur omnia cuiuslibet ecclesiae negotia, eligantur episcopi, diaconi, excommunicentur criminosi, et dum vere respuerint, ad communionem denuo recipiant. . . . In his conventibus praesint episcopi, ut Dei verbo omnia dirigant, et nihil admittant quod Dei verbo non competat. . . .

[Cap. xvi, *De Excommunicatione*. Cap. xvii, *De absolutione resipiscentium*. Cap. xviii, *De Anniversaria Synodo*. Cap. xix, *De Electionibus et Depositionibus*. Cap. xx, *Qua ratione procedendum in electionibus*. Cap. xxi, *De ordinatione ministrorum ecclesiae, per orationem et manuum impositionem*. Cap. xxii, *De visitatoribus eorumque ministerio*. Cap. xxiii, *De episcoporum*

electione—Eligat quaevis ecclesia aut deponat episcopum suum, quod ad eam spectet iudicare de voce pastorum. . . . Cap. xxiv, *De episcoporum diaconis*. Cap. xxv, *De diaconis ecclesiarum et pauperum provisione*. Cap. xxvi, *De non umbiendo primatu*. Cap. xxvii, *De otiosis deque vagis et falsis fratribus*. Cap. xxviii, *De peregrinis et exulibus fratribus*].

Cap. xxix. *De universali studio Marpurgensi*.—Quia placuit Deo movere cor Principis nostri, ut nunc fulgente Evangelii gloria universale studium apud Marpurgum erigere velit, idque maxime necessarium sit ut in ecclesiis nostris multiplicentur qui in verbo et doctrina eisdem praesidere, ac quae recta sunt consulere possint: interdiciamus in virtute Dei ut nihil in eo legatur quod negotiis regni Dei obesse possit. In eo sint primum qui Sacras Litteras profiteantur, et id quidem purissime, alioqui deponantur. Deinde sint qui Leges civiles praelegant, sic tamen ut cautelae impiae Dei verbo circumcidantur, et quae Dei verbo non conveniunt per illud corrigantur. Idcirco vocentur Iureconsulti docti simul et pii, qui sciant Dei verbum omnium doctrinarum adhibere censorem: e quibus si quis nonnulla contra Dei verbum adseruerit, et suo ministerio et communione privetur. Tertio habeatur ad minus unus Medicinae professor, doctus simul et pius. Quarto praelegantur artes liberales et politiores litterae, adhibito in omnibus, praesertim in Mathematicis, censore tutissimo, nempe sermone Dei. Quinto sint professores Linguarum.

Porro ius illud contra fas vocatum Canonicum, omnino legi prohibemus. Qui in hoc venerabili studio aliquid contra sanctum verbum decernere ausus fuerit, anathema sit.

[Cap. xxx. *De Scholis puerorum*. Cap. xxxi. *De Scholis Puellarum*. Cap. xxxii. *De studiosis pauperibus*. Cap. xxxiii. *De Beneficiatis*. Cap. xxxiv. *De claustris et monachis*.]

No. 99. Church Order of Brunswick, 1528.

Before all things, it is necessary to provide for three things: first, to set up good schools for the children; next, to appoint preachers who shall deliver God's word pure to the people, and to secure the teaching of Latin and the exposition of holy Scripture for the learned; thirdly, to furnish Common Chests with the Church goods and other offerings from which the service of the church may be kept up and the needs of the poor relieved. . . . How necessary these first three things are, to set up schools, to ordain preachers, and to maintain both

them and the poor out of the Common Chests is hereinafter set forth ; and how not only Christians but all reasonable and fair-minded people must acknowledge such provision to be right. . . .

First, of the Poor-Chests. In all large parishes there shall openly stand a Common Chest for the indigent, the poor, and others in need. To it shall come all free-will offerings which men shall put therein throughout the year, as each is disposed ; item, all bequests and benefactions : item, the customary offerings on St. Auctor's¹ day . . . ; item, what men have hitherto vainly offered for the dead ; item, what they have also offered when a bride comes to church . . . ; item, if any one wishes to have the bells rung at a death . . . the money for the ringing (save what is due to the sexton) shall be put into the Poor-Chest ; item, whatever pious Christian people can devise for the help of these chests shall belong thereto ; item, the Deacons of the Poor shall . . . go round on holydays before and after the sermon in church with bags whereon shall be a little bell so that they need not ask but that the people shall hear that they are there . . . and preachers shall in their sermons recommend such service of the poor as Divine Service. . . . For these chests there shall be chosen three Deacons by the Council and by the members of the Commune in the district. . . . The Deacons shall keep an account of their receipts and expenditure, and a list of the names and houses of those who from week to week are in need of assistance, so that their reckoning may be the simpler and clearer. When they have made their reckoning with the Council and the Ten Men, they shall bring the balance that remains from each parish to some particular place, and an entry shall be made of what each parish brings : and such money shall be kept in readiness for use in special emergencies, such as the plague, or to buy corn. . . . Every Sunday, or other appointed day in the week, the Deacons shall meet together in each parish to distribute to the poor according to need, and to consider what is necessary for each sick or poor man. And when there is no money there, or too little, the preacher shall warn the people to come to the assistance of the Common Chest. . . .

Of the Church-Chest². In each large parish there shall also

¹ On 20 Aug.—St. Auctor was Bp. of Trier, before 450 ; cf. *Acta Sancto-rum*, Aug. iii. 37 sqq.

² lit. Cash-box (*Schatzkasten*).

stand a Church-Chest in the sacristy, wherein the overseers or Treasurers¹ shall place the alms of their church, as follows :—

Memorials founded at the church, kalends, and what are called *benefactorum*, and all benefices shall, as they become vacant, be placed therein. The register and all that they shall receive, in whatever wise and from what source so ever, shall by the Honourable Council be handed over to the Treasurers. They shall have power over all church goods, as hitherto churchwardens have had, and shall bring them into their Common Chests. . . . To these chests shall also belong the Ember-penny. Wherefore the preachers shall from the pulpit diligently require the Ember-penny of the people, on the Sunday before the offering-day. . . . We doubt not too that the worshipful Guilds and Brotherhoods will bring into these Chests all that hitherto they have spent upon candles, memorials, vigils, and Masses for the dead in church. Item, absentee holders of benefices shall bring into these Chests all that formerly they gave in fees to the celebrant for reading Mass : and, further, whatever they provided in the way of wine and oblations for the Sacrifice shall also be placed therein. Item, whatever in any parish the council of the district may devote thereto and whatever else may be arranged with the parish priest, shall be for the good of this Chest. . . . For these Church-Chests four deacons or overseers shall be appointed by the Council and the members of the Commune who shall collect and demand all that is ordered, answer for everything, and give receipts for themselves and their successors. And for this purpose they shall have a ledger wherein all necessary things shall be entered and duly kept.

These deacons or treasurers shall pay the stipends to the preachers of their churches every quarter, as also to the sacristans and the organists. They shall also provide and maintain a dwelling near the church for their preachers, and, where they are willing and able to do so, for their schoolmaster who is appointed in their church to sing with the children, in case he wishes to marry and to keep house. . . . They shall also keep the churches in repair and provide what is needful therein. These four persons shall have authority from the Commune in company with the Council to appoint a preacher, as is above set down, one of the four being a member of the Council. . . . These four treasurers shall reckon up year by year

¹ lit. Cash-box keepers (*Schatzkastenherren*).

with the Honourable Council and the Ten Men : and anything over from all the parishes shall be collected together in a particular place and in a special chest, as is provided in the case of the Poor-Chests. . . .

XXXI

PROGRESS OF REFORM IN SCANDINAVIA, 1527-8

I. Denmark.—Christian II, 1513-†1559, was no sooner defeated in Sweden than he was driven from his own country, 13 April 1523. His throne was offered to the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, his uncle, who was elected 14 April as Frederick I of Denmark, 1523-1533. Concession was the price of his election. The King was personally favourable to the Lutheran opinions, such as were now being preached in the Duchies by Hermann Tast, 1490-†1551, at Husum, in Schleswig, since 1522; and in Jutland by Hans Tausen, 1494-†1561, at Viborg from 1524. He was able to promote the preaching in his hereditary dominions by an edict of Aug. 1524, ensuring religious liberty (Münter, *Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark*, iii. 565 n.): but in Denmark he was obliged to defer to the Catholic magnates, who, spiritual¹ and temporal, united, 28 June 1524, in a pronouncement against it (*ibid.* iii. 153). In 1526, however, he made Tausen his chaplain, and so exempted him from episcopal control. The bishops remonstrated: but the king contrived to break up their alliance with the nobles by supporting the latter in their attacks upon ecclesiastical property: and in an [No. 100] ordinance (summary in Münter, iii. 207 sq.) based upon the Recess (*ibid.* *Reformationsgeschichte von Dänemark*, i. 556 sqq.), 20 August 1527, of the Diet of Odense, extended to reformers equality with others before the law.

II. Sweden.—Here it was not so much the nobles as the Crown that coveted the goods of the Church. Gustavus judged that the time was ripe in 1527: and summoned a Diet which met at Westerås, 24 June. By the threat of resignation he reduced it to subservience: and by the Recess put forth in its name it was ordered by § 2 'that the surplus revenues of bishops, chapters, and monasteries should be transferred to the Crown, which was also provisionally to take over the bishops' castles'; by § 3 that 'the nobility might redeem from the religious houses all the land devoted to pious uses since 1454, to which they could make good their claims' (R. N. Bain, *Scandinavia*, 111); and by § 4 'that God's Word might everywhere in the kingdom be purely preached' (Anjou,

¹ The Danish hierarchy consisted, since 1425, of the Archbishopric of Lund, with seven suffragans, Wiborg, Borglum, Roskilde, Odense, Ribe, Aarhus, and Schleswig. Holstein belonged to Lübeck, in the province of Bremen. Cf. Wiltsh, *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, ii. 287.

History of the Reformation in Sweden, 213: cf. Weidling, *Schwedische Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 207). The Diet then proceeded to adopt the regulations known as the [No. 101] *Westeräs Ordinances* (summarized in Watson, *The Swedish Revolution*, 258 sqq.; cf. Anjou, 216; Weidling, 208), the result of which was to place the Church at the mercy of the King. At his command, 5 Jan. 1528, three bishops were consecrated for Skara, Strengnäs, and Abö, by the Catholic Bishop of Westeräs, without indeed the confirmation of the Pope, but with the ancient rites. The monasteries were robbed of their property; and, sooner or later, died out (Anjou, 226 sqq.). On 2 Feb. 1529 [No. 102] a synod met at Örebro and carried changes a stage further by its programme of reforms, 7 Feb. (Baazius, *Inventarium ecclesiae Svec-Gothorum*, 239 sqq.; cf. Anjou, 257 sqq., and Weidling, 241 sqq.) In 1529 there appeared a Manual, in 1530 a Hymn-book, and in 1531 the first Mass-book—all in Swedish: and, as from the hands of Olaus Petri, all Lutheran. His brother, Laurence, became Archbishop of Upsala, 1531.

No. 100. In Denmark.—The Ordinance of the Diet of Odense, 1527.

(1) Henceforth every man shall enjoy freedom of conscience. No one shall be at liberty to ask whether a man is Lutheran or Catholic. Every man shall answer for his own soul.

(2) The King extends his protection to the Lutherans, who hitherto have not enjoyed such full security and safe-conduct as the Catholics.

(3) The marriage of ecclesiastics, canons, monks, and other spiritual persons which for several centuries has been forbidden, is now allowed; and every one is free to choose whether he will marry or remain celibate.

(4) In future, bishops shall no more fetch the pall from Rome: but after they have been duly elected by the chapters possessed of the right, they shall seek confirmation from the Crown.

No. 101. In Sweden.—The Ordinances of Westeräs, 1527.

(1) Vacancies in the parish churches are to be filled up by the bishop of the diocese. If, however, he appoints murderers, drunkards, or persons who cannot or will not preach the Word of God, the King may expel them and appoint other persons who are more fit.

(2) Where a parish is poor, two of them may be joined

together, though not if such a step would be an injury to the Word of God.

(3) All bishops shall furnish the King with a schedule of their rents and income of every kind. From these schedules he shall determine the relative proportions for them to keep and to hand over to the Crown.

(4) A similar course shall be pursued with regard to the cathedrals and chapters.

(5) Auricular confession must be given up as already commanded, and an account must be rendered to the King of all fines imposed.

(6) An account must also be rendered to the King of all fees received for remitting the ban, and bishops with their officers must not inflict the ban for petty offences, as has been often done hitherto.

(7) Bishops shall have authority to determine as to the legality of marriages, and may grant divorces; but an account shall be rendered to the King of all fees therefor.

(8) Fees for weddings, funerals, and churchings may be taken as provided in the Church Ordinances, but no more.

(9) Since it has been decreed that the King, and not the bishop, is to receive all fines imposed in cases within ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the provosts may hereafter hold court just as the bishops have done hitherto, and shall render an account of their doings to the King.

(10) For desecration of holy days, no penalty is to be imposed on those who have been tilling the ground, or fishing, or catching birds; but persons discovered hunting or quarrelling shall be fined.

(11) Priests shall be subject to temporal laws, and temporal courts, in all disputes of their own or of their churches, concerning property, torts, or contracts, and shall pay to the King the same penalties as laymen. But all complaints against the clergy for non-fulfilment of their priestly duties shall be laid before the bishop.

(12) If a priest and a layman come to blows, one shall not be placed under a ban any more than the other, for God has forbidden priests to quarrel as well as laymen. Both shall suffer for their acts according to the laws of the land.

(13) Since it has been found that mendicant friars spread lies and deceit about the country, the royal stewards are to see that they do not remain away from their monasteries more than five weeks every summer and five weeks every winter. Every

friar must get a license from the steward or burgomaster before he goes out, and return it when he comes back.

(14) Monks who receive rents shall not go out to beg at all.

(15) When a priest dies the bishop is not to defraud the priest's heirs of their inheritance. Priests shall be bound, in regard to their wills, by the same law as other people.

(16) If a man has sexual intercourse with a woman to whom he is engaged he shall not be punished, since they are already married in the eye of God.

(17) No person who is infirm shall be compelled by priests to make a will.

(18) The sacrament shall not be withheld from any one for debt or other reason. The church or priest has a remedy in court.

(19) Fines for adultery and fornication belong to the King, not to the bishop.

(20) The Gospel shall hereafter be taught in every school.

(21) Bishops shall consecrate no priest who is incompetent to preach the Word of God.

(22) No one shall be made a prelate, canon, or prebendary unless he has been recommended by the King, or his name submitted to the King.

No. 102. The reforms of the Synod of Örebro, 7 Feb. 1529.

Nos infra scripti Laurentius Andreæ Archidiaconus Upsalensis, praeses sedis Archiepiscopalis et Regius nuncius; Magnus Haraldi Scarensis, Magnus Sommar Strengnensis, Petrus Magni Arosiensis, Episcopi et ex omnibus dioecesisbus Sveciae clerici¹ . . . qui sumus in concilio Orebrogensi congregati.

I. Fatemur nostri esse officii praedicare purum Dei verbum, et summo studio anniti ut voluntas Dei in verbo eius revelato patefiat auditoribus nostris, per institutam diligenter in omnibus templis tam urbanis quam ruralibus praedicationem. Quare promittimus nos in posterum id serio facturos. Nos episcopi habebimus fidelem inspectionem, ut pastores ecclesiarum in singulis dioecesisbus recte doceant verbum Dei, modo velint suo officio praeesse; et curabimus ut quotidie in templis cathedralibus habeatur lectio e S. Scriptura orthodoxe explicata, cui attendant non soli scholares, studiis ibidem invigilantes,

¹ i. e. besides the three bishops, nineteen canons, eleven pastors, one preacher, five friars, and three monks.

sed etiam iuniores praedicatores ruri degentes. Idem fieri in scholis cathedralibus consultum videmus, ut illuc conveniant simul clerici chorales, in verbo Dei recte instituendi. Hoc modo speramus sensum verbi Dei verum gratia Dei omnibus plane innotescere. Nos etiam episcopi procurabimus ut discentes in scholis habeant rectum textum Bibliorum, praesertim N. T. Latinum; et ut praeficiantur ecclesiis civitatum docti viri, ad quorum conciones saepe congregabuntur simplices pastores ruri degentes, ut inde proficiant in vero sensu verbi Dei. Ad hos rurales etiam pastor civitatis quandoque accedat, et in conventibus illorum verbum Dei recte proponat. In monasteriis civitatum fiat concio verbi Dei horis pomeridianis, ne impediatur concionem in templo civitatis antemeridianam. Caveant pastores effutire in concionibus odia personalia, cum auditorum scandalo coniuncta. Si quid invenerint doctiores quod reprehendant in aliorum concionibus aut vita, id modeste et primo privatim agant. In omnibus concionibus recitentur hae partes Catechismi, Pater noster, Credo et Ave Maria in gratiam simpliciorum auditorum: et Decem Praecepta bis singulis mensibus absolvant praedicatores. Principium concionis erit omnibus idem, sic etiam clausula.

II. (1) Scholares non diu versentur ruri ad colligendam stipem emissi, sed mature redeant. Hi cavebunt sedulo ne mendacia spargant, aut de religione cum quodam tractent ruri, idque pastores ecclesiarum observabunt.

(2) Ius canonicum constituit aliquot gradus sanguinis et affinitatis, in quibus nolit matrimonium esse contrahendum: quos gradus verbum Dei non prohibet. Illi igitur quibus data est potestas dispensandi in his casibus ecclesiasticis, utantur hic libertate ecclesiae, et datis gravibus causis relaxent prohibitionem papalem; cavebunt tamen ne dispensatio sit coniuncta cum scandalo infirmorum.

(3) Poenitentarii praescribant eam publicam poenitentiam notoriis peccatoribus quae poenitentes erudiat, et animos de peccati gravitate informet. Videtur necessarium ut homicidae tractentur rigide, cum hebescat gladius, quo tollerentur ipsi de medio.

(4) Monachi subsint inspectioni episcopi loci, praesertim in causa ecclesiastica quae praedicationem evangelii spectat.

(5) Quoniam nimis multa Festa Sanctorum celebrantur, quae occasionem citius peccandi quam Deum colendi subministrant ipsaque necessarios labores impediunt, iudicamus sufficere ut Festa Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Praesentationis et Passionis

Christi ; item Pentecostes et Apostolorum feriae, cum diebus Patronorum, servantur. Aliae feriae cum tempore sileant per prudentiam episcoporum abrogatae.

(6) In civitatibus quae templis uno pluribus ornantur, ut in illis plures conventus ecclesiastici simul fiant, parebunt omnes uni pastori.

(7) Item cavebunt episcopi ne levibus de causis scribant schedas mendicantibus stipem, ne populus plus iusto gravetur.

III. Abusus ceremoniarum sacrarum viguit hactenus multiplex : quare usum vulgarium ceremoniarum gratia informationis hic explicabimus. Aqua lustralis non abstergit peccata, quod solus sanguis Christi facit : sed ea revocat in memoriam usum baptismi, quo sumus lavati in peccatorum remissionem. Imagines sanctorum non retinentur propter cultum : sed propter memoriam Christi et sanctorum, ut imitemur vitam et pietatem illorum. Palmas non consecrarunt primitus religiosi propter fiduciam auxilii inde expectandi : sed ad recordationem palmarum Christo substratarum. Candelis consecratis die Purificationis Mariae non tribuitur sanctitas : sed lumini vero Christo in Templo Ierusalem oblato, quem consecrata candela designat. Unctio externa chrismatis significat internam unctionem Spiritus Sancti fidelibus necessariam. Usus campanarum tantum ad convocandam plebem adhibetur. Aedificatio templorum non est per se cultus Dei, siquidem Deus non habitat in templis manufactis : sed necessitas monet Christianos habere loca ubi convenient ad peragenda sacra. Consecrantur templa, item sal, cibus aliaque usui piorum destinata, non ut sint in seipsis sancta, sed ut sint nobis sancta : ceu oramus ut his rebus sancte utamur, ne profanemus nomen Dei in templo aut circa usum rerum sacrarum occupati. Sic prodest haec benedictio non rebus consecratis, sed nobis qui illis uti debemus. Informentur ergo auditores simplices ut dent potius suas candelas pauperibus quam ut illas coram imaginibus accendant. Ieiunium non est ipse cultus Dei ; sed subtrahitur hoc modo voluptas carni, ut praeparetur animus pii hominis ad serium Dei cultum celebrandum. Feriae peraguntur non propter specialem Dei cultum feriendo peragendum : sed ut tempus detur auditui verbi Dei opportunum et recreentur operarii laboribus defatigati. Adhuc informantur simpliciores quod ritus usitati diebus Parasceves et Resurrectionis Christi nullum habeant alium usum quam ut inculcent in memoriam facta Christi, qui pro nobis passus est et resurrexit. Peregrinationes ad loca sancta quanta fieri possit moderatione removebuntur. Erant quidem primo

institutæ non propter singularem cultum Dei aut indulgentiam peccati in iis locis (siquidem Deus est ubique) oblatam poenitentibus : sed ut homo religiosus in iis locis meliorem acciperet notitiam Dei essentiae et voluntatis, per prædicationem verbi Dei a doctis viris ibi propositam, acueret etiam affectum pietatis visio rerum religiosarum. Hoc prædicatores fideliter inculcabunt patriotis. Cumque hic usus peregrinationum desierit, desinant et ipsi his peregrinationibus invigilare.

Datum Örebrogiæ et manibus clericorum prius nominatorum subscriptum Dominica Quinquagesima, Anno Chr. 1529.

XXXII

THE DIET OF SPEIER, 1529

Scarcely had the new evangelical institutions begun to take shape when, in 1528, a Catholic reaction set in. This was due to two causes. First, to the violence with which Philip of Hesse, in reliance upon the forgeries of Otto von Pack, treated the neighbouring bishops (Ranke, *Ref.* Bk. V, c. ii). It 'stained the good cause', said Melancthon : and it provoked the natural resentment of the German Catholic sovereigns. Secondly, to the improved relations of Pope and Emperor. Each had, at last, discovered that neither could stand without the other ; and both had a common interest in putting down heresy. Hence, in response to a papal appeal of 28 Oct. 1528 (Ranke, *Ref.* 553), the Emperor, by a [No. 103] Mandate of 30 Nov. (Ney, *Geschichte des Reichstages zu Speier*, 291 sqq.), convoked the Diet to meet at Speier on 21 Feb. 1529. There was a strong Catholic majority (*ibid.* 51 sqq.) among the Estates present, when, on 15 March, Ferdinand communicated to them [No. 104] the Proposition (Walch, xvi. 318 sqq. ; Ney, *op. cit.* 104 sqq.). It was debated in committee till, on 23 March (Ney, *op. cit.* 128), a [No. 105] Resolution (Walch, xvi. 323 sqq. ; Ney, 129 sqq.) was taken, which, as being in harmony with the wishes of the majority, was adopted by the Diet on 6 and 7 April (Ney, 176). The cities, as appears from a [No. 106] Letter of Fürstenberg, the ambassador of Frankfurt (Ney, 358) resented the decision as tending to re-establish the spiritual authority of the bishops : while six princes and fourteen cities joined, 19 April, in the celebrated [No. 107] Protest (Walch, xvi. 384 § 2 ; Ney, 233) afterwards, 25 April, expanded in the *Instrumentum Appellationis* (Walch, xvi. 390 § 6 ; Ney, 243) on behalf of freedom of conscience and the rights of minorities, which won for them and their posterity 'the name of Protestants'—a name that, as the English bishops observed at the Savoy Conference, 'most properly belongs to those that profess the Augustan confession' (Cardwell, *Conferences*, 338 ; cf. 445).

No. 103. The Imperial Mandate, 30 Nov. 1528.

Charles, by the grace of God, Roman Emperor Elect, &c. Dear Uncle & Prince, &c. . . . We will that you, on the appointed day of the month of February, in your own person . . . appear . . . together with our . . . Commissioners and other our Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire . . . to advise & resolve, &c. . . . And if you do not appear within ten days after the day appointed our envoys and Commissioners will, notwithstanding, discuss and determine affairs with the Estates then & there present, in all respects as if you and others who absented yourselves on slight and frivolous grounds, had been present. All which we shall attend to and execute with firmness & vigour, in the same manner as if all the Estates, whether present or absent, had agreed to them. . . .

To My gracious Lord the Margrave George¹.

No. 104. The Proposition or Speech from the Throne, 15 March 1529.

(1) Next, your aforesaid Imperial Majesty has no small grief and trouble that in the German nation, during your reign, such evil, grave, perilous, and pernicious doctrines and errors have arisen in our holy faith, and are now daily increasing more and more. Thereby not only (though this is the most important part of the matter) are the Christian and laudable laws, customs, and usages of the Church held in contempt and disgrace, to the reproach and dishonour of God our Maker; but also to that of your Imperial Majesty and the Empire. In particular, the German nation, its estates, subjects, and allies are thereby roused and inflamed to grievous and pitiful revolts, tumults, war, misery, and bloodshed; while your Majesty's edicts and mandates, together with the recesses of the Empire, are so little regarded, or rather, in so many ways treated with such gross opposition and contempt, as that your Majesty is seriously displeased and in no mind (as indeed becomes the Head of Christendom) any further to tolerate or permit the same.

(2) Whereas then in the Recess lately made at Regensburg [28 May 1527] . . . it was held that in the matter of differences and discords . . . there was no better way open to a fruitful result than by a General Council or, at least, a National Assembly . . .

(3) And whereas now the relations between your Imperial

¹ of Brandenburg-Ansbach, 1515-†43.

Majesty and his Holiness the Pope are, by the grace of Almighty God, in such good Christian accord that, as your Majesty is assured, there is no refusal on the part of his Holiness to hold the General Council . . . it is your Majesty's gracious offer to urge his Holiness to allow the summoning of such a Council. . . .

(4) Meanwhile, it is your Majesty's will, intention, and strict command to every Estate, spiritual and temporal, of higher or lower degree, by the duty which every one owes to your Imperial Majesty and the Holy Empire, at peril of losing his sovereignties, rights, freedoms, grants, and graces, and also of incurring such strict pains and penalties as are comprised in the published edicts, that, until the assembly and holding of the aforesaid Council, no one, whether of spiritual or of temporal estate, shall, to the detriment of our true Christian faith, use violence or force against ancient usages and customs, or go over to any wrong or strange creed, or attach himself to any new sect, as may hitherto have happened in some places.

(7) And whereas in the Recess of the Diet of Speier, made in the . . . year 1526, an article was comprised saying that 'the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, and the ambassadors of the same unanimously agreed and resolved, while waiting for the Council, with our subjects, in matters which the edict published by his Imperial Majesty at the Diet holden at Worms may concern, each one so to live, govern, and carry himself as he hopes and trusts to answer it to God and his Imperial Majesty, &c.'; and whereas, from the same article, as hitherto understood, expounded, and explained at their pleasure by several of the Estates of the Holy Empire, marvellous great trouble and misunderstanding has arisen against our holy Christian faith, as also against the Magistrates through the disobedience of their subjects, and much other disadvantage, your Imperial Majesty conceives no small astonishment thereat: and to the end that, for the future, the said article may be no further taken and expounded at every man's pleasure, and that the consequences, which hitherto have proved so disastrous to our holy faith, may be averted, your Imperial Majesty hereby repeals, revokes, and annuls the above-mentioned article contained in the aforesaid Recess, now as then, and then as now, all out of your own Imperial absolute power. . . .

**No. 105. The Resolution of the Majority,
7 April 1529.**

(5) Whereas, moreover, the said article has since been by many drawn and expounded, under an entire misapprehension, to the excusing of all sorts of new doctrines and sects; therefore, to cut off such occasion and to avert further falling away . . . the Electors, Princes, and other Estates have resolved that those who have hitherto held to the aforesaid Imperial Edict [*sc.* of Worms] should continue to abide by the same till the coming Council, and hold their subjects thereto.

(6) That by the other Estates, with whom the other doctrine originated and with whom, to some degree, it cannot be abandoned without considerable tumult, trouble, and danger, all further innovation shall nevertheless be prevented till the coming Council, so far as is humanly possible.

(7) That, in particular, such doctrines and sects as deny the most worthy sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ's Body and Blood shall in no wise be tolerated by the holy Empire of the German Nation, nor be henceforth suffered . . . to preach in public: nor shall the celebration of the holy Mass be done away: nor shall any one, in places where the new doctrine has got the upper hand, be forbidden to celebrate or to hear Mass, nor be hindered or forced therefrom.

(9) Further, your Imperial Majesty bids and commands every Estate, spiritual and temporal, by the duty which every one owes to your Imperial Majesty, and on pain of losing every one his sovereignties, feoffs, liberties, grants, and graces, that, until the assembly and holding of the aforesaid Council, no one, whether of spiritual or temporal Estate, shall, by act or deed, in any wise use force against another to deprive and despoil him of authority, goods, rents, dues, and customs: and whosoever, contrary to this your Imperial Majesty's commandment, shall undertake or endeavour anything by force or deed, the same shall by so doing be liable to your Imperial Majesty's displeasure, ban and re-ban, in accordance with the foregoing declaration. . . .

**No. 106. The Letter of Fürstenberg,
7 April 1529.**

The greater part of the cities are greatly annoyed by the article concerning faith, and on several grounds are indisposed

to admit it. There were all sorts of little words slipped in which are not tolerable or endurable to the cities; against which they [sc. the majority in the Diet] are violent and dangerous; and especially that their authority and traditional jurisdiction should be forcibly set aside, in order that the clergy (in case the said article is accepted and granted) may continue to appoint and to displace the preachers, to restore all the old abuses, and to establish new ones. . . .

No. 107. The Resolution of the Minority,
19-25 April 1529.

(a) From the *Protest* of 19 April.

You, Well-beloved, and you, dear Lords, Cousins, Uncles, Friends, and others, know what objections we caused to be raised, both orally and in writing, on the last day of the late Diet, against certain points in the article for the preservation of peace and unity in view of the religious division imminent in the Empire, pending the Council; and this, although (while holding that we then said nothing but what our conscience requires for God's honour and the hallowing of His Name) we were aware of the very great need in the Empire of the peace and unity aforesaid. You, Well-beloved, and you others should have sought means whereby we might have been able, with a good conscience and without objection, to come to an agreement with you for the interpretation of the late Recess of Speier, where it might by difference of opinion be perverted; whereby, too, the late Recess (which hitherto was everywhere considered just, and that, so far, unanimously) should also remain in essence and substance as then. Further we, Duke John, Elector of Saxony, proposed a conciliatory amendment to the resolution adopted by the Grand Committee with reference to the perversion aforesaid and the maintenance of the said peace; and afterwards we again set it before the said Committee, and subsequently had it submitted to you, Well-beloved, and you others, trusting that the same proposal would have been considered by you as a moderate and peaceful solution and would have been accepted.

But whereas we have found that you, Well-beloved, and you others persist in the maintenance of your intention; and whereas (for stated and weighty reasons and objections which we have now and at all times wished, declared, and repeated) both for conscience' sake and because you, Beloved, and you

Excellencies, in view of the imminent religious division above-mentioned, have not reconciled yourselves to assist in the preservation of peace and unity pending the Council, we do not agree or consent herein ; and whereas, from the form of procedure, and even before that, on account of the above-mentioned Recess of Speier, we are not bound herein, especially without our consent, by reason of the following written, strongly binding clauses and words from the said late Recess made and sealed here at Speier which, at the end of the same Recess, are, in due form, written as follows : ‘ Hereby so declare and promise We, Ferdinand, Prince and Infant of Spain, &c., and we Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Lords,’ &c.

Now, therefore, we hold that, as regards the oft-mentioned objections, our great and urgent needs require us openly to protest against the said resolution of you, Well-beloved, and you others as being, in view of the said late Recess, null and void, and, so far as we ourselves and our people, one and all, are concerned, not binding. This we hereby presently do. We hereby protest to you, Well-beloved, and you others, that we, for kindred reasons, know not how to, cannot, and may not, concur therein, but hold your resolution null and not binding ; and we desire, in matters of religion (pending the said general and free Christian council or national assembly) by means of the godly help, power, and substance of the oft-mentioned late Recess of Speier, so to live, govern, and carry ourselves, in our governments, as also with and among our subjects and kinsfolk, as we trust to answer it before God Almighty and his Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord.

(b) From the *Instrumentum Appellationis* of 25 April.

But these are matters which touch and concern God's honour, and the salvation and eternal life of the souls of each one of us, and in which, by God's command, and for the sake of our consciences, we are pledged and bound to regard before all things the same our Lord and God, in the undoubting confidence that your Royal Serenity, our beloved fellow Princes, and the others, will in a friendly spirit hold us excused that we are not one with you therein, and that we cannot in such a matter give way to the majority, as we have several times been urged to do in this Diet, especially having regard to the fact that the Recess of the previous Diet of Speier specially states, in the article in question, that it was adopted by a

unanimous vote, and in all honour, equity, and right, such a unanimous decision can only be altered by a similarly unanimous vote. But besides this, in matters which concern God's honour and the salvation and eternal life of our souls, every one must stand and give account before God for himself; and no one can excuse himself by the action or decision of another, whether less or more.

XXXIII

CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, 1529

The action of the majority at Speier had been rendered possible through the growing reconciliation of Pope and Emperor which issued, 29 June, in [No. 108] the *Treaty of Barcelona* (Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, IV. ii, No. 1). Shortly afterwards, 5 August, the Peace of Cambray (*ibid.* IV. ii, No. 2) between Charles and Francis increased the advantage of the Catholic majority. It might seem finally assured when, 15 October, the Turks raised the siege of Vienna; for, failing unity among the reformers, the Turk was the best ally of the Reformation. Such unity had been attempted when, just after the Protest at Speier, a 'particular secret understanding' (Ney, *op. cit.* 270) was concluded, 22 April, between the Elector, the Landgrave, Nürnberg, Ulm, and Strassburg. It was an understanding between North and South, between Lutheran princes and towns nearer to the Swiss: and Philip saw the importance of making it permanent. Accordingly, on 22 April, the day of its inception, he wrote to Zwingli, 1484-11531, inviting him to take part in discussion with the Saxon divines (*Zuinglii Opera*, viii. 288, edd. *Schuler and Schulthess*). They hesitated: but the Landgrave at length prevailed both with Luther (de Wette, iii. 473) and with Melancthon (*Corpus Reformatorum*, i. 1077), and there was held a [No. 109] *Colloquy at Marburg*, Michaelmas, 1529. It turned upon the Eucharistic presence, as appears from the *Relatio Rodolphi Collini* (*Zuinglii Opera*, IV. ii. 173 sqq.), a professor at Zürich who accompanied Zwingli: and issued, 3 October, in the fifteen [No. 110] *Articles of Marburg* (*ibid.* 181 sq.), on all of which Saxon and Swiss agreed except on the fifteenth. Luther then took these articles and revised them against 'the Sacramentaries' (*ibid.* 190). So revised, they became known as the seventeen [No. 111] *Articles of Schwabach* (*Corpus Reformatorum*, xxvii. 151 sqq.), and took rank as the first of the Lutheran Symbolical Books. For political purposes they were accepted by the Elector and George Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, at, 16 Oct., the Convention of Schwabach, as the condition of membership in a strictly Lutheran league of North German states. Ulm and Strassburg fell off: and thus Philip's wider combination failed.

No. 108. The Treaty of Barcelona, 29 June 1529.

Carolus quintus, divina favente clementia, electus Romanorum Imperator Augustus, ac Germaniae, Hispaniarum, utriusque Siciliae . . . Rex, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae, Brabantiae &c., Comes Habsburgi, Flandriae, Tirolis, &c. Recognoscimus . . . quod cum nuper Sanctissimus in Christo Pater . . . D. Clemens VII, S. R. ac universalis Ecclesiae Pont. Max. hinc rempublicam Christianam civilibus dissidiis totam divisam et in aperto discrimine constitutam, etiamsi nullus externus hostis urgeret, inde saevissimos Christianae Religionis [hostes] Turcas victoriis elatos, arma parantes diraque Christiano nomini minantes, videret, cuperetque . . . civilia bella dirimere Christianorumque Principum animos inter se divisos universali pace coniungere, ut qua parte facilius ad id aditus patebat viam aperiret, Reverendum in Christo Patrem Hieronymum Episcopum Vasionensem¹ Apostolicum Nuntium cum amplissimis mandatis tam ad pacem universalem quam ad particulare foedus et amicitiam inter Suam Sanctitatem et Nos tractandum et concludendum ad Nos misit. . . . Quo factum est ut . . . inter praefatum Nuntium ac Procuratores Nostros . . . ad haec pacta devenit.

[§ 4] Item, quum spoliatis omnia iura favcant, nec minus favorabilis censeatur spoliatorum restitutio quam possidentium manutentio . . . memor Caesarea Maiestas quod illustris suae Sanctitatis familia, haeredes scilicet quondam Magnifici Laurentii de Medicis² a clarissimae memoriae Maximiliano³ Caesare ac Ferdinando⁴ Rege Catholico, eius avis paterno atque materno, superioribus annis in patriam Florentiam restituti⁵, multis eisdem corresponderunt officiis, in omnibusque se gratissimos exhibuerunt; dolensque inter caeteras Sanctitatis suae calamitates hoc quoque evenisse ut quidam Sanctitatis suae hostes, qui eadem iam antea consilia agitabant, illa occasione arrepta, velut desperatis suae Sanctitatis rebus, in familiam de Medicis insurrexerint⁶ atque eius civitatis statum mutaverint: cupiatque sua Caesarea Maiestas, pro filiali erga Sanctitatem suam observantia et amore, etiam contemplatione matrimonii tractati et conclusi inter Illustrem D. Alexandrum de Medicis suae Sancti-

¹ Hieronymus Scledus, Bishop of Vaison, 1523-†133.

² Lorenzo the Magnificent, 1469-†94, uncle of Clement VII, whose natural son Alessandro, †1537, married (under this treaty) the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, †1586.

³ Emperor 1508-†19.

⁴ King of Spain 1512-†16.

⁵ In 1512.

⁶ In 1527.

tatis Nepotem Ducem Pennae et Illustrem D. Margaritam de Austria ipsius Caesaris filiam naturalem, aliisque iustis mota respectibus, dictam suam familiam, annuente Altissimo, in patriam et pristinum statum restituere: ideo actum extitit et conventum quod aut ipsius Caesareae Maiestatis copiis et viribus aut eo meliori modo quo id fieri poterit cum primum id commodè exequi et ad effectum deduci queat, dicti . . . Nepotes . . . reducantur in patriam ac civitatem Florentiam, integreque restituantur non solum ad bona occupata sed in eundemmet statum . . . et ad gubernium . . . eiusdem civitatis . . . in quibus erant antequam proxime eiicerentur. . . .

[§ 11] Item, quum S^o. D^o. N^o. cura etiam maior rerum spiritualium et pastoralis officii quam temporalium esse debeat, dignitatemque Sedis Apostolicae, fidem et religionem Christianam super omnia tueri teneatur; multi autem exorti sunt qui et de Fide Catholica male sentiant et a religione doctrinaque Christiana omnino deviauerint, aliosque in eundem errorem deducere conentur; nec minus Caesareae Maiestati cordi sit ut huic pestifero morbo congruum antidotum praeparari possit. Ideo actum extitit et conventum quod Caesar ac Serenissimus Hungariae Rex, eius Frater, his melioribus ac congruentioribus modis et formis quibus fieri poterit, ac cum ea qua decet dexteritate et industria, omnem operam possibilem adhibebunt in huiusmodi erroribus, si fas sit, sedandis errantiumque animis alliciendis ut ad rectos Christianae religionis tramites redeant, ipsamque religionem et fidem Apostolicamque Sedem verbo aut facto laedere seu perturbare non praesumant. In qua re ipse etiam S. D. N. salubribus illis spiritualibus antidotis commisso gregi ovibusque errantibus, tanquam communis Pater et Pastor consulens, omnem possibilem medelam pariter adhibere conabitur. Quod si pastoris vocem non audiverint Caesarisque mandata neglexerint et in hisce erroribus obstinati et pertinaces permanserint, tam Caesar quam Serenissimus Hungariae et Boëmiae Rex contra illos eorum potestatis vim distringent, illatamque Christo iniuriam pro viribus ulciscuntur: curabitque sua Sanctitas ut caeteri Christiani principes, et potissime qui id foedus ingredi volent, tam sancto operi etiam pro viribus assistant.

No. 109. Relatio Rodolphi Collini de Colloquio Marburgensi.

[Kal. Oct.] Lutherus, priusquam inchoaret colloquium, in mensa sua scripserat, disputaturus contra Zuinglium et Occolam

padium, 'Hoc est corpus meum': ut ne ab his verbis 'se abduci pateretur. Tum longa oratione praefatur et protestatur 'quod ab adversae partis hominibus dissentiat, idque perpetuo facturus sit, cum Christus apertissime dixerit: "Accipite, edite, hoc est corpus meum." Hic dicit ostendendum esse quod corpus non sit corpus.' Adversariorum sententiam adduxit. Quaestiones nullas in tam apertis verbis admittit. Rationem omnem et communem sensum excludit. Argumenta carnis, item argumenta mathematica reliquit: 'Deum,' inquit, 'esse supra mathematicam, et verba Dei cum stupore esse adoranda et facienda: Deus autem praecipit, "Accipite, edite, hoc est corpus meum."'

Oecolampadius ad argumenta Lutheri respondet, et cap. vi Ioannis tractandum censet, ut inde reliqui loci explicentur. Ad hoc, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' adducit, 'Ego sum vitis vera.' Divinae possibilitati non contradicit. A carnali manducatione deducit ad spiritualem: suam sententiam dicit non vanam nec indignam esse, constare enim ex fide et Scriptura.

Lutherus metaphoras agnoscit. "'Hoc est corpus meum" sumitur demonstrative: nam generalis vox patitur metaphoram.' Quaerit 'quomodo spiritualis manducatio secludat corporalem.' Patres esse ab altera parte fatetur, si admittatur interpretatio.

Oecolampadius, "'Ego sum vitis vera" etiam demonstrativum est.' Res potest esse: quo modo sit.

Lutherus non negat figuras, sed vult, ut probet, hic esse ex petitione principii, 'Cum Christus dixerit, "Hoc est," necessitas requiritur.'

Oecolampadius legit cap. vi Ioannis, et postea probat 'Christum ibi tractare de spirituali manducatione et abducere a corporali, non igitur esse corporalem manducationem.'

Lutherus repetit recitata ex cap. vi Io. et dicit: 'Sententia tua est, per spiritualem manducationem abduci a corporali. Iudaei putarunt eum comedendum esse, sicut panis et caro editur ex patina, and like roast pork.'

Oecolampadius respondit, 'hunc intellectum esse humilem': ubi utrinque longa concertatio et contentio fuit.

Oecolampadius, 'Christum in pane credere opinio est non fides. Periculosum est nimium elementis attribuire.'

Lutherus, 'To wear a straw ex iussu Domini, spirituale est.' Exemplum from a horse-shoe longe explicat. 'Non oportet attendere quid dicatur, sed quis. Quum Deus loquitur quid, auscultent homunciones: quum praecipit quid, pareat mundus, et omnes exosculemur verbum, nihil ultra curiosi.'

Post hanc contentionem Oecolampadius inquit, 'Cum spiritualementem habeamus, quid ergo opus est corporali?'

Lutherus: 'Non curo quid opus est, sed cum scriptum est, "Accipe, &c." faciendum omnino est et credendum. We must do it,' saepe inculcabat. 'Si iuberet,' inquit, 'fimum comedere, facerem, satis sciens hoc esse mihi salutiferum.'

Oecolampadius locum tractat ex cap. vi Io., "Caro non prodest quicquam." Si caro comesa non prodest sed spiritus, ergo spectandum nobis quid prosit et voluntas Dei contemplanda,' &c. Uterque tandem protestatus est se in sua perseverantium sententia, quando neuter alteri satisfecisset.

Zuinglius inquit, 'et Lutherum praeiudicii accusat quod protestetur se a sua nolle decedere sententia. Ita Helvidius in dictione, "Frater," argumentari potuisset, cum clarissime scriptum sit, "Fratres eius," &c. Collatio Scripturae necessaria. Itaque etsi non habeamus, "Hoc est figura corporis," habemus tamen quod abducit a corporali manducatione: ergo in Coena corpus suum non dedit corporaliter.'

Concordes fuerunt in hoc, quod principale est, nempe in spirituali manducatione.

Inde tractat cap. vi Ioan. praesertim hoc, "Spiritus vivificat, caro non prodest quicquam." Humanitatem, quae passa sit, excipit: illa enim salutaris. Ex consequentia verborum validissime probat, quod caro comesa non prosit quicquam. In verbis, Discerpere, Dilaniare, calumniam Lutheri accusat, cum idem sit verbum *ἑσθίειν*, edere, comedere, manducare. Quum ascendero in coelum, tunc videbitis me non manducari corporaliter, really, bodily, &c. Spiritus et caro opponuntur. Contentionem de humili intellectu refricat, dicitque quaedam probe, quaedam pueriliter dicta esse, nempe, "Si Deus iuberet fimum comedere," &c. Nam quae Deus iubet, ad bonum et salutem iubet. Deus lumen dat, et non tenebras offundit. Ergo non dicit, "Hoc est corpus meum" essentialiter, realiter, carnaliter, cum Scriptura repugnet. Oracula daemonum obscura, non Christi. Anima manducat spiritum, non carnem.'

Lutherus, contra Helvidium, "Frater" pro patrueli ex Scriptura probatur: Sed hic "Hoc est corpus" tropus non potest probari. Crab-apple si Deus mihi proponeret, ego spiritualiter manducarem. Nam ubicunque est verbum Dei, ibi spiritualis est manducatio: ergo cum corporalem manducationem adiecit, dicendo, "Hoc est corpus meum," credendum erit. Comedimus fide hoc corpus, quod pro nobis traditur. Os accipit corpus Christi: anima credit verbis, quia edit corpus.'

Zuinglius: 'Ex Scriptura probatur signatum pro signo; Ex Ezechiele, Phase (Eze, Exod. xii. 27); Ergo cum in dubiis Scripturae locis collatio requiratur, credendum locis similibus.'

Accusat rhetoricam et ficta argumenta, cum dicat, 'Si iuberet Deus ista vel ista: nam scimus Deum ista vel talia non iubere. Verbum' inquit, 'aequivocatur a vobis. Verba tantum significant nobis voluntatem Dei. Deus nobis non proponit incomprehensibilia. Quod Christus verus Deus et homo, non est incognitum fidei. Exemplum Mariae, quae interrogat, "Quomodo potest istud fieri?" et certior reddita, tum demum credit. Sed hic in cap. vi discipuli dubitarunt de carnali manducatione, quare ipse spirituales docet.' Ad illa, 'Verbum Dei est manducatio, non nego, sed verbum creditum.'

Lutherus: 'Ex Ezechiele et Phase allegoriae sunt—bosh—significatio nulla est. De verbo, non dicimus nostris verbis probatis adduci corpus, sed de institutione Christi dicimus, verba non nostra sed Domini sunt. "Facite," &c. Per hoc verbum facit ut manus sacerdotis sit manus Christi. Os non est meum, lingua non est mea, sed Christi: I may be a rogue or a knave. Ita de Baptismo; Simile, "Princeps fundit fugatque hostem, ibi singulae manus, Principis dicuntur manus. "Si dixeris monti, &c., fiet." Non disputo an Est sit Significat; sed contentus sum quod Christus dicit, "Hoc est corpus meum." The devil can't get out of that. Id volo, Verba non cedere in meam potestatem, sed potestatem et iussionem Domini. Anima etiam corpus manducat: corporaliter enim corpus in verbo. Si interrogo, excido a fide: I will become a fool therefor. Cur non tropum etiam facitis, "Ascendit in coelum," &c.? Quare puris verbis credite, et date gloriam Deo.'

Zuinglius: 'Nos itidem rogamus, ut detis gloriam Deo, et relinquatis petitionem principii. Ubi probatur vestrum thema. Ego hunc locum non relinquam inexcussum, et leviter ita tractatum: You'll have to sing me another tune.'

Lutherus: 'Invidiose loqueris.'

Zuinglius interrogat 'an credat quod Ioan. vi cap. Christus voluerit mederi ignorantibus?'

Lutherus: 'You're trying to bluster. "Durus est hic sermo," &c. Iudaei loquuntur de impossibili et absurdo. Sed missa haec faciamus, quae ad rem non faciunt.'

Zuinglius: 'No, No: hic locus (puta Ioan. vi cap.) breaks your neck.'

Luther: 'Don't brag so loud. You are in Hesse, not in

Switzerland. My neck's not breaking then !' et alia ob hoc dictum calumniatus est, et quiritabatur plurimum. . . .

Zuinglius excusabat, id dictum esse ex idiotismo nostro. Esse ita diversas loquendi formulas, &c. Princeps nutu et verbis excusationem accipiebat.

Zuinglius Postillas Lutheri citavit, in quibus scripserat 'quod Christus de se dixerit, "Caro non prodest quicquam."' Iam verba Melancthonis adduxit in hunc ipsum locum. 'Quod corpus corporaliter manducatur, sermonem esse non fundatum. Quando veteres dixerunt, Corpus Christi cibatur animam, hoc de resurrectione intelligo.'

Lutherus : 'Non curo quid nos scripserimus : sed probate, "Hoc est corpus," quod non sit corpus ! Corpus cibatur hominis corpus aeternaliter. Os cum accipit corpus, immortalitatem quandam acquirit. Nam verbum ex iussu Dei virtutem induit. Deus dicit "Accipite, facite" : ibi fit : dicta et facta sunt. Differt nostrum dicere, et iussio Dei. Si S. Petrus praesto esset, nesciremus quid crederet. Deus ergo non in sanctitate nostra, sed verbo suo fundat sanctum. Pessimus sacerdos facit sanctum.'

Zuinglius : 'Absurdum, quod impii rem faciant sacram.'

Lutherus : 'Minime absurdum : nam baptizat malus. In verbo Dei ministrant impii. Nam "in cathedra Moses sedent, &c." Augustinus contra Donatistas ait, quod non tantum probis et piis committi debeat ministerium : quia factum nostrum situm est in verbo Dei.'

Zuinglius : 'Aliud est quando Pharisei docent, et quando fit quod Christus loquitur. Ministerium praedicandi maius est ministerio baptizandi. Verum ad praedicandi ministerium pertinent ista verba, "Hoc est corpus meum."'

Oecolampadius caput vi. Ioan. resumit : adducit etiam locum de Nicodemo, et explicat.

Lutherus : 'Fides spectat hoc praesens corpus, et id quod in coelo est.'

Oecolampadius : 'Inculcat Lutherus semper idem, quasi nos panem habeamus sine verbo Dei. Ecclesia in hoc fundata est, "Tu es filius Dei" : non in hoc, "Hoc est corpus meum."'

Lutherus : 'Non temere hic adhaereo, mihi satis est hoc, "Hoc est corpus meum." Ego fateor corpus esse in caelo, fateor etiam esse in Sacramento. Non curo quod sit contra naturam, modo non contra fidem.'

Oecolampadius : '"Per omnia nobis similis factus est." Ut consimilis Patri in divinitate, ita nobis in humanitate.'

Lutherus : “ Donec veniat, &c.” Vos distinguitis humanitatem et divinitatem, ego non curo. “ Pauperes semper habebitis, me non, &c.” Optimum argumentum quod hodie adduxistis. Substantialiter ut natus est e virgine, ita est in Sacramento : Hic requiritur analogia fidei, ex definitione fidei’ ad Heb. xi cap.

Oecolampadius : ‘ Christum non agnoscimus secundum carnem.’

Philippus : ‘ Id est, secundum nostram carnem.’

Oecolampadius : ‘ Vos tropum nobis adimitis, et tamen synecdochen facitis, contra intellectum Catholicorum.’

Lutherus : ‘ Hoc Deo committimus. Synecdoche est, ut gladius cum vagina, the tankard with the beer. “ Hoc est corpus meum ” is then an inclusive phrase : nam corpus est in pane, sicut gladius in vagina. Hanc figuram textus requirit, sed metaphora rem omnino tollit, ut cum dicatur “ Corpus,” id est, figura corporis.’ Exemplum, “ Supra quem videris columbam,” in qua erat Spiritus sanctus.’

Oecolampadius hoc exemplum retractavit, et ad suam sententiam optime deduxit.

Zuinglius : ‘ Rom. viii, “ Deus misit Filium suum conformatum carni peccato obnoxiae, &c.” Ad Philipp. “ Exinanivit semetipsum σχήματι.” Heb. ii “ Assimilatus fratribus”. Ergo finitam habet humanitatem. Si corpus sursum, ergo in uno loco.’ Augustinus, Fulgentius et alii adducuntur. Conclusio : ‘ Corpus Christi in uno loco ; ergo non potest esse in multis locis.’

Lutherus pro σχήματι in repetendo dixit ‘ ἕξαις. “ Per omnia similis ” : ergo habuit uxorem, and black eyes. Quod sit in loco, iam antea dixi vobis atque adeo edico quod nolo mathematicam : id saepe repeto. Ut in Coena sit et ut in loco ne curemus.’

Zuinglius Paulum adducit ad Philipp. ii, “Ὁς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. Item, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών.

Lutherus : ‘ Latine vel Germanice legas, non Graece.’

Zuinglius Latine se excusat, nempe quod xii annis usus sit Graeco codice. Tunc pergens dixit, ‘ Ergo Christus est finitus, ut nos finiti sumus.’

Lutherus : ‘ Concedo. Simile de nuce et cortice : ita de corpore Christi, Deus potest facere, quod non sit in loco et quod in loco.’ Hic multa erat controversia de loco.

Et cum Lutherus concessisset finitum esse corpus Christi et Zuinglius inferre vellet, ‘ Ergo locale. Si locale et in coelis,

ergo non in pane' ibi Lutherus nolebat audire de loco vel localitate; dicebat 'I will not have anything to do with it: I will not!'

Zuinglius: 'Must we then have just what you will?'

Coena instabat, et diremit certamen.

Zuinglius: 'Corpus Christi finitum, ergo in loco.'

Lutherus: 'Non est in loco, quando in Sacramento: potest esse in loco et non in loco. Deus potest corpus meum ponere ut non sit in loco. Nam et Sophistae dicunt, Unum corpus posse esse in diversis locis, quod non improbo.' Exemplum 'Mundus est corpus, non tamen in loco.'

Zuinglius: 'Arguis a posse ad inesse. Proba quod corpus Christi possit esse simul in diversis locis.'

Lutherus: 'Hoc est corpus meum.'

Zuinglius ex Fulgentio legit quod Christus sit in uno loco: Luthero obiicit quod scripserit, 'There is the whole body of Christ.' Et, 'si divinitas non est passa in Christo, non meus esset Christus.'

Lutherus: 'Fulgentius non de Coena loquitur sed contra Manichaeos. Fulgentium adducit de Coena Domini, ubi Oblationis mentio fit.'

Zuinglius: 'offeritur,' id est, 'memoria celebratur oblationis.'

Ibi Lutherus sacrificium vocavit in dubium, ne cederet de sententia: quod cum Zuinglius ei obiecisset, dictum revocavit.

Lutherus rursum corpus Christi in multis locis esse probat per 'Hoc est corpus meum'.

Zuinglius eum cepit.

Lutherus revocavit dictum: 'God grant he be in loco or not, Deo committam: hoc mihi satis est, "Hoc est corpus meum."'

Zuinglius: 'Subinde petitis principium: sic contentiosus posset dicere, Iohannem Mariae fuisse filium. Nam Christus dixit "Ecce filius tuus", semper inculcando "Christus dixit, Ecce filius tuus, ecce filius tuus."'

Lutherus: 'Non petimus principium: nam articulus fidei non probatur per articulum.'

Zuinglius: 'Scripturae conferendae, et per se excutiendae. Dicite an corpus sit in loco.'

Brentius: 'Est sine loco.'

Zuinglius: 'Augustinus dicit, in uno loco esse oportet.'

Lutherus: 'Augustinus non de Coena loquitur.'

Lutherus tandem concedit quod non sit in Sacramento tanquam in loco.

Oecolampadius hinc collegit 'Ergo non est hic corporaliter —bodily, with His true body.'

Oecolampadius repetiit 'quod concessissent corpus Christi non esse in Sacramento ut in loco' et quaerit sine contentione 'Quomodo ergo ibi sit corpus?' Augustinus et Fulgentius legitur.

Lutherus: 'Vos Augustinum et Fulgentium habetis, sed reliqui Patres a nobis stant.'

Oecolampadius petit ut suae partis Patres proferant: sed recusant.

Lutherus 'admittit sacramentum sacrae rei signum esse: concedit sancta symbola esse, et sic ut amplius aliquid significant, et intellectui repraesentent aliud.' De signis naturalibus et signis a Deo institutis consentiunt.

Lutherus inter alia Augustinum reiecit 'quod iuvenis scripsisset et quod obscurus et antiquus scriptor' et concludit.

Oecolampadius dicit 'se citare Patres hanc ob causam, ne nova et inaudita ipsorum videretur sententia.' Tandem etiam concludit. Itidem Zuinglius fecit. . . .

Tertia die Articuli conscribuntur, in quibus ab utraque parte consensum est et in quibus non: ut orbi Christiano notum fieret eos in omnibus fidei capitibus consentire, unico excepto, de modo praesentiae corporis et sanguinis Christi in Coena. . . .

No. 110. The Articles of Marburg, No. 15, 3 Oct. 1529.

Credimus et sentimus omnes de Coena Domini nostri Iesu Christi quod utraque specie iuxta institutionem utendum sit: quod Missa non sit opus quo alter alteri, defuncto aut viventi, gratiam impetret: quod Sacramentum Altaris sit Sacramentum veri corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi, et spiritualis istius veri corporis et sanguinis sumptio praecipue unicuique Christiano maxime necessaria. Similiter de usu Sacramenti consentimus quod, sicut verbum, ita et Sacramentum a Deo traditum et ordinatum sit, ut infirmas conscientias ad fidem et dilectionem excitet per Spiritum sanctum. Etsi autem an verum corpus et sanguis Christi corporaliter in pane et vino Coenae Domini praesens sit hoc tempore non concordavimus, tamen una pars alteri Christianam dilectionem, quantum cuiusque conscientia feret, declarabit, et utraque pars Deum omnipotentem dili-

genter orabit ut nos Spiritu suo in vera sententia confirmet. Amen.

Subscripterunt M. Lutherus, I. Ionas, P. Melanchthon, A. Osiander, I. Brentius, I. Oecolampadius, H. Zuinglius, M. Bucerus, C. Hedio. 3 Octob. anno 1529.

No. III. The Articles of Schwabach, No. 10, 16 Oct. 1529.

The Eucharist or Sacrament of the Altar also consists of two parts, namely [1] that there is truly present in the bread and in the wine the true body and blood of Christ, according to the tenor of the Word, 'This is my body' and 'This is my blood', and not mere bread and wine, as the opposite party now asserts: [2] also [that] this Word promotes and induces faith and the practice thereof among all such as desire the Sacrament and do nothing contrary to the same, exactly as Baptism also brings and gives faith, where a man desires it.

XXXIV

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG, 1530

After nine years' absence Charles V returned to Germany to settle in person the religious question. He came at the height of his power, and as the ally of the Pope from whom he had just received the Imperial Crown at Bologna, 24 Feb. 1530. In spite of [No. 112] **Instructions**, urging repression, from the Cardinal Legate Campeggio (Ranke, *History of the Popes*, iii, No. 19), the Emperor meant to intervene as mediator, and in his [No. 113] **Summons**, 21 Jan. 1530, to the Diet (Fürstemann, *Urkundenbuch zu der Geschichte des Reichstages zu Augsburg, 1530*, vol. i, No. 1), promised a fair hearing to 'every man's opinion'. The Elector received the summons, 11 March (*ibid.* No. 3); and at [No. 114] the advice of Dr. Brück, his Chancellor (*ibid.* No. 11), bade his theologians state the Protestant case in writing. They presented it, 21 March (*Corpus Reformatorum*, ii, 33), in the Articles of Torgau (*ibid.* xxvi. 171 sqq.), which dealt mainly with discipline. Meanwhile, 14 March, Eck had criticized the Protestant doctrines at Court: and Melanchthon, on whom the task of defence had now devolved, was fain to include in his 'Apology' a statement of doctrine which had for its basis the Articles of Schwabach. On 11 May he sent it, now a 'Confession' (*ibid.* ii. 45), to Coburg for Luther's approval. This Luther gave at once and, 15 May, wrote, characteristically, to the Elector that he had 'read Master Philip's

Apology. . . . It pleases me well, and I know not how to better it . . . for I cannot tread so softly and gently' (de Wette, iv. 17).

At length, on 15 June, the eve of Corpus Christi, the Emperor made his entry into Augsburg (Schirmacher, *Briefe und Akten*, 54 sqq.); and no sooner was [No. 115] the **Proposition** (Coelestinus, *Historia Comitiorum Augustanorum*, 121) read at the first session of 20 June, than, 22 June, 'principes deliberatione habita iudicabant omnium primo agendum esse de religione' (Schirmacher, *op. cit.* 81; cf. *Corpus Ref.* ii. 127). At the third session, 25 June, in the Bishop's palace, Melancthon's Apology, henceforth to be known as [No. 116] **The Confession of Augsburg** (*Corpus Ref.* xxvii. 263 sqq.) was presented over the signatures of seven princes and two cities, and read to the assembled Estates. Conciliatory in tone, it made a favourable impression upon individual opponents. But the majority, as a whole, remained unconvinced: and, 26 June, supported by [No. 117] the representations of the Legate (Lanz, in *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, xi. 45 sqq.), recommended the Emperor to have it examined (Schirmacher, *op. cit.* 98). Its author, at an interview, 28 July, with the Legate (Lämmer, *Monumenta Vaticana*, 48) showed himself ready to make further [No. 118] **Concessions** (*Corpus Ref.* ii. 171; cf. Schirmacher, 511 n. 2) in the interests of peace. But, 3 Aug., at [No. 119] the fifth session (Schirmacher, *op. cit.* 168), after the reading of the Confutation¹ (*Corpus Ref.* xxvii, or Francke, *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Lutheranae*, app. No. 3), the Emperor demanded submission. A fresh series of negotiations (Schirmacher, *op. cit.* 217 sqq.), indeed, was taken in hand, 16 Aug., by mixed committees of theologians and laymen (*ibid.* 239 sqq.), which led, on Eck's part, to some remarkable modifications in the statement of traditional doctrine, e.g. [No. 120] the **Articulus de Missa** (*ibid.* 234). But negotiation was seen to be futile when, 26 Aug., Luther repudiated it in his [No. 121] letter from Coburg (de Wette, iv. 146); and on 7 Sept. [No. 122] an **Imperial announcement** (Schirmacher, *op. cit.* 257, cf. Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, ii, No. 179) put an end to the business by promising a Council and requiring conformity till it met. This policy was then embodied, 22 Sept., in [No. 123] the **Recess of the Diet** (Goldasti *Const. Imp.* iii. 513; cf. Förstemann, *op. cit.* ii, No. 206, and Schirmacher, *op. cit.* 309). Next day the Elector left Augsburg.

No. 112. Campeggio's Instructions to the Emperor, Jan. 1530.

'The Cardinal remarks,' says Ranke, 'that in conformity with the position he holds and with the Commission of the Apostolic See, he would proceed to set forth the measures

¹ For a summary of it see Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, 26 sq. (ed. 1884).

which, according to his judgement, ought to be adopted. He describes the state of affairs in the following manner:—

“In certain parts of Germany all the Christian rites which were given to us by the ancient holy fathers have been abrogated in accordance with the suggestions of these scoundrels; the sacraments are no longer administered, vows are not observed, marriages are contracted irregularly and within the degrees prohibited by the laws. . . .”

‘He reminds the Emperor that “this sect” would not procure him any increase of power, as he had been promised, and assures him of his own spiritual aid in the event of his adopting the counsels suggested:—

“And I, if there shall be need, will pursue them with ecclesiastical censures and penalties, omitting nothing that it may be needful to do. I will deprive the beneficed heretics of their benefices, and will separate them by excommunications from the Catholic flock. Your Highness also, with your just and awful Imperial Ban, will subject them to such and so horrible an extermination that either they shall be constrained to return to the holy Catholic faith, or shall be utterly ruined and despoiled both of goods and life. And if any there be, which God forbid, who shall obstinately persevere in that diabolical course . . . Your Majesty will then take fire and sword in hand, and will radically extirpate these noxious and venomous weeds. . . .

“It will be well and to the purpose that when this magnificent and Catholic undertaking shall have been put firmly and directly on its way, there should be chosen, some few days after, efficient and holy inquisitors who, with the utmost diligence and assiduity, should go about seeking and inquiring if there be any (but far be it from them) who persist in these diabolical and heretical opinions, nor will by any means abandon them . . . in which case they shall be castigated and punished according to the rule and practice observed in Spain with regard to the Moors. . . .”

No. 113. The Imperial Summons to the Diet, 21 Jan. 1530.

To the Most Noble John, Duke of Saxony, &c., Charles, by the Grace of God, Roman Emperor Elect &c. . . . For the good purposes aforesaid we have resolved to undertake a general Diet and assembly, and, on the 8th of April next

ensuing, to hold the same in our Imperial City of Augsburg: by which time we hope that we shall have settled affairs in Italy so as to be present in person on that day, as we have finally resolved to do. This day, then, we hereby announce to you, our Well-beloved, commanding you by the authority of our Roman Empire and by the duty wherewith you are bound to us and to the Empire, straitly bidding and willing you to appear that day in person at Augsburg, and together with us and other our Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Empire, whom we have summoned in like manner, to assist in undertaking, debating, resolving, and concluding how weighty provision may be made for the removal of the grievous burden and invasion into Christendom of the aforesaid Turks, with good deliverance, defence, and steady help according to need, in addition to the measures formerly taken in that behalf: and, further, how, in the matter of errors and divisions concerning the holy faith and the Christian religion we may and should deal and resolve, and so bring it about, in better and sounder fashion, that divisions may be allayed, antipathies set aside, all past errors left to the judgement of our Saviour, and every care taken to give a charitable hearing to every man's opinions, thoughts, and notions, to understand them, to weigh them, to bring and reconcile men to a unity in Christian truth, and to dispose of everything that has not been rightly explained or treated of on the one side or the other. . . .

No. 114. The advice of Dr. Brück, March 1530.

Inasmuch as His Imperial Majesty's summons desires that every man's opinion and mind should have a hearing, it appears to us a good thing that the opinion wherein our side has hitherto stood and persisted, should be duly collected together in writing with well-grounded justification of the same from Holy Scripture, so that one may have it ready in writing to start with: since it is hardly likely that, in the handling of the affair, the preachers as well as the Estates will be allowed to take part. . . .

No. 115. The Proposition or Speech from the Throne, 20 June 1530.

. . . Cum igitur magno sane cum animi dolore audierit et intellexerit, dissidium hoc indies augeri et latius propagari

maioresque vires sumere, nec tam diligentibus deliberationibus, maturis consiliis et variis actionibus huc usque effectum esse quicquam, se existimasse, ad legitimam causae cognitionem, dissidium tollendum et animos reconciliandos, suam praesentiam multum habituram momenti. Igitur pro naturae suae bonitate et innata mansuetudine, hoc quicquid sit futurum oneris et molestiae suscepisse, ac tam longum et periculosum iter emensum esse, ut iuxta litteras indictionis quam primum de rei summa cognosceret, bona spe concepta, hoc suum consilium plerisque probatum iri, et ad concordiam Ecclesiae et Reipublicae salutarem ac utilem pacem omnes plectendum et invitatum esse, ut hoc facilius res ipsa cognosci et agenda suscipi possit, animi distracti rursus coalescant et pristina ubique locorum restituatur pax atque concordia, ac denique Caes. Maiest. iuvandae Reipublicae et propagandae gloriae Dei avidissima, in bono necessarioque proposito constanter pergere et fideliter perseverare queat, possintque de aliis etiam rebus, omnibus et singulis profuturis, utiles institui deliberationes.

His rebus omnibus consideratis, C. M. totius negotii seriam suscipere tractationem et actionem decrevisse, ut non tantum de perniciosis ac crudelibus Turcarum in Christianas regiones irruptionibus avertendis, frangendis, debilitandis et imminuendis hostis immanissimi viribus, ac impediendis versutis consiliis: verum etiam de dirimendis Ecclesiae contentionibus ac sopiendis tollendis dissidiis ageretur. Igitur C. M. amanter, clementer et serio petere Electores Principes ac omnes Imperii Status ut quid hac de re cuiusque animi et sententiae sit, latino et germanico scripto comprehensum, in medium proponant, quo, iuxta litteras indictionis, eo commodius et celerius res ipsa intelligi definiri possit. . .

No. 116. The Confession of Augsburg, 25 June 1530.

PRAEFATIO AD CAESAREM CAROLUM V.

Invictissime Imperator, Caesar Auguste, Domine clementissime. Quum Vestra Caesarca Maiestas indixerit conventum imperii Augustae, ut deliberetur de auxiliis contra Turcam, atrocissimum, hereditarium atque veterem Christiani nominis ac religionis hostem, quomodo illius scilicet furori et conatibus durabili et perpetuo belli apparatu resisti possit: deinde et de dissensionibus in causa nostrae sanctae religionis et Christia-

nae fidei, et ut in hac causa religionis partium opiniones ac sententiae inter sese in caritate, lenitate et mansuetudine mutua audiantur coram, intelligantur et ponderentur, ut illis, quae utrinque in scripturis secus tractata aut intellecta sunt, sepositis et correctis, res illae ad unam simplicem veritatem et Christianam concordiam componantur et reducantur; ut de cetero a nobis una, sincera et vera religio colatur et servetur, ut, quemadmodum sub uno Christo sumus et militamus, ita in una etiam ecclesia Christiana, in unitate et concordia vivere possimus: 2. quumque nos infra scripti Elector et Principes cum aliis, qui nobis coniuncti sunt, perinde ut alii Electores et Principes et Status ad praefata comitia evocati simus, ut Caesareo mandato obedienter obsequeremur, mature venimus Augustam, et, quod citra iactantiam dictum volumus, inter primos adfuimus.

3. Quum igitur V. C. M. Electoribus, Principibus et aliis Statibus imperii etiam hic Augustae sub ipsa initia horum comitiorum inter cetera proponi fecerit, quod singuli Status Imperii vigore Caesarei edicti suam opinionem et sententiam in Germanica et Latina lingua proponere debeant atque offerre; et habita deliberatione proxima feria quarta rursus responsum est, V. C. M. nos proxima feria sexta articulos nostrae confessionis pro nostra parte oblaturus esse: ideo ut V. M. voluntati obsequamur, offerimus in hac religionis causa nostrorum concionatorum et nostram confessionem, cuiusmodi doctrinam ex Scripturis Sanctis et puro verbo Dei hactenus illi in nostris terris, ducatibus, ditionibus et urbibus tradiderint, ac in ecclesiis tractaverint.

4. Quod si et ceteri Electores, Principes ac Status Imperii similibus scriptis, Latinis scilicet et Germanicis, iuxta praedictam Caesaream propositionem, suas opiniones in hac causa religionis prodixerint: hic nos coram V. C. M. tanquam domino nostro clementissimo paratos offerimus, nos cum praefatis Principibus et amicis nostris de tolerabilibus modis ac viis amice conferre, ut, quantum honeste fieri potest, conveniamus, et re inter nos et partes citra odiosam contentionem pacifice agitata, Deo dante, dissensio dirimatur, et ad unam veram concordem religionem reducatur, sicut omnes sub uno Christo sumus et militamus et unum Christum confiteri debemus, iuxta tenorem edicti V. C. M., et omnia ad veritatem Dei perducantur, id quod ardentissimis votis a Deo petimus.

5. Si autem, quod ad ceteros Electores, Principes et Status, ut partem alteram, attinet, haec tractatio causae religionis eo modo, quo V. C. M. agendam et tractandam sapienter duxit,

scilicet cum tali mutua praesentatione scriptorum ac sedata collatione inter nos non processerit, nec aliquo fructu facta fuerit: nos quidem testatum clare relinquimus, hic nihil nos, quod ad Christianam concordiam (quae cum Deo et bona conscientia fieri possit) conciliandam conducere queat, ullo modo detrectare; quemadmodum et V. C. M., deinde et ceteri Electores et Status Imperii et omnes, quicunque sincero religionis amorē ac studio tenentur, quicunque hanc causam aequo animo audituri sunt, ex hac nostra et nostrorum confessione hoc clementer cognoscere et intelligere dignabuntur.

6. Quum etiam V. C. M. Electoribus, Principibus et reliquis Statibus Imperii non una vice sed saepe clementer significaverit, et in comitiis Spirensibus, quae anno Domini, &c. XXVI habita sunt, ex data et praescripta forma Vestrae Caesariae instructionis et commissionis recitari et publice praelegi fecerit: Vestram M. in hoc negotio religionis ex causis certis, quae V. M. nomine allegatae sunt, non velle quidquam determinare, nec concludere posse, sed apud Pontificem Romanum pro officio V. C. M. diligenter daturam operam de congregando concilio generali; quemadmodum idem latius expositum est ante annum in publico proximo conventu, qui Spirae congregatus fuit, ubi V. C. M. per Dominum Ferdinandum, Bohemiae et Ungariae Regem, amicum et dominum clementem nostrum, deinde per Oratorem et Commissarios Caesareos, haec inter cetera proponi fecit, quod V. C. M. intellexisset et expendisset Locum tenentis V. C. M. in imperio et Praesidentis et Consiliariorum in regimine et Legatorum ab aliis Statibus, qui Ratisbonae convenerant, deliberationem de concilio congregando; et quod iudicaret etiam V. C. M. utile esse, ut congregaretur concilium; et quia causae, quae tum tractabantur inter V. C. M. et Romanum Pontificem, vicinae essent concordiae et Christianae reconciliationi, non dubitaret V. C. M., quin Romanus Pontifex adduci posset ad habendum generale concilium: ideo significabat se V. C. M. operam daturam, ut praefatus Pontifex Maximus una cum V. C. M. tale generale concilium primo quoque tempore emissis literis publicandum congregare consentiret.

7. In eventum ergo talem, quod in causa religionis dissensiones inter nos et partes amice et in caritate non fuerint compositae, tunc coram V. C. M. hic in omni obedientia nos offerimus, ex superabundanti comparituros et causam dicturos in tali generali, libero et Christiano concilio, de quo congregando in omnibus comitiis imperialibus, quae quidem annis

imperii V. C. M. habita sunt, per Electores, Principes et reliquos Status Imperii semper concorditer actum et congruentibus suffragiis conclusum est. 8. Ad cuius etiam generalis concilii conventum, simul et ad V. C. M. in hac longe maxima et gravissima causa iam ante etiam debito modo et in forma iuris provocavimus et appellavimus. Cui appellationi ad V. C. M. simul et concilium adhuc adhaeremus, neque eam per hunc vel alium tractatum (nisi causa inter nos et partes iuxta tenorem Caesareae proximae citationis amice in caritate composita, sedata et ad Christianam concordiam reducta fuerit) deserere intendimus aut possumus; de quo hic etiam solenniter et publice protestamur.

PARS I. ARTICULI FIDEI PRAECIPUI.

I. DE DEO.

Ecclesiae magno consensu apud nos docent, decretum Nicaenae synodi de unitate essentiae divinae et de tribus personis verum et sine ulla dubitatione credendum esse: videlicet quod sit una essentia divina, quae et appellatur et est Deus, aeternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, creator et conservator omnium rerum, visibilium et invisibilium; et tamen tres sint personae, eiusdem essentiae et potentiae, et coaeternae, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. 2. Et nomine *personae* utuntur ea significatione, qua usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit.

3. Damnant omnes haereses contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manichaeos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum; item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas et omnes horum similes. 4. Damnant et Samosatenos, veteres et neotericos, qui quum tantum unam personam esse contendunt, de Verbo et de Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personae distinctae, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum.

II. DE PECCATO ORIGINIS.

Item docent, quod post lapsum Adae omnes homines, secundum naturam propagati, nascantur cum peccato, hoc est, sine metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum, et cum concupiscentia, quodque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere sit peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque aeternam mortem his qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum.

2. Damnant Pelagianos et alios qui vitium originis negant

esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi, disputant hominem propriis viribus rationis coram Deo iustificari posse.

III. DE FILIO DEI.

Item docent, quod Verbum, hoc est, Filius Dei, assumpserit humanam naturam in utero beatae Mariae virginis, ut sint duae naturae, divina et humana, in unitate personae inseparabiliter coniunctae; unus Christus, vere Deus et vere homo, natus ex virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis. 2. Idem descendit ad inferos, et vere resurrexit tertia die; deinde ascendit ad coelos, ut sedeat ad dexteram Patris, et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corda eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat, consoletur ac vivificet eos, ac defendat adversus diabolum et vim peccati. 3. Idem Christus palam est rediturus, ut iudicet vivos et mortuos &c. iuxta Symbolum Apostolorum.

IV. DE IUSTIFICATIONE.

Item docent, quod homines non possint iustificari coram Deo propriis viribus, meritis aut operibus, sed gratis iustificentur propter Christum per fidem, quum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata remitti propter Christum, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro iustitia coram ipso. Rom. iii et iv.

V. DE MINISTERIO ECCLESIASTICO.

Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est *ministerium docendi evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta*. 2. Nam per verbum et sacramenta, tamquam per instrumenta, donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis qui audiunt evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita, sed propter Christum iustificet hos qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recipi.

3. Damnant Anabaptistas et alios qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum praeparationes et opera.

VI. DE NOVA OBEDIENTIA.

Item docent, quod fides illa debeat bonos fructus parere, et quod oporteat bona opera mandata a Deo facere propter voluntatem Dei, non ut confidamus per ea opera iustificationem

coram Deo mereri. 2. Nam remissio peccatorum et iustificatio fide apprehenditur, sicut testatur et vox Christi: *Quum feceritis haec omnia, dicite, servi inutiles sumus.* 3. Idem docent et veteres scriptores ecclesiastici. Ambrosius enim inquit: 'Hoc constitutum est a Deo, ut qui credit in Christum salvus sit, sine opere, sola fide, gratis accipiens remissionem peccatorum.'

VII. DE ECCLESIA.

Item docent, quod una sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem *ecclesia* congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta. 2. Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina evangelii et administratione sacramentorum, nec necesse est ubique esse similes traditiones humanas, seu ritus aut ceremonias ab hominibus institutas; sicut inquit Paulus: *Una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium &c.*

VIII. QUID SIT ECCLESIA.

Quamquam ecclesia proprie sit congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium; tamen quum in hac vita multi hypocritae et mali admixti sint, licet uti sacramentis, quae per malos administrantur, iuxta vocem Christi: *Sedent Scribae et Pharisei in cathedra Mosi &c.*; et sacramenta et verbum propter ordinationem et mandatum Christi sunt efficacia, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

2. Damnant Donatistas et similes, qui negabant licere uti ministerio malorum in ecclesia, et sentiebant ministerium malorum inutile et inefficax esse.

IX. DE BAPTISMO.

De baptismo docent, quod sit necessarius ad salutem, quodque per baptismum offeratur gratia Dei; et quod pueri sint baptizandi, qui per baptismum oblato Deo recipiantur in gratiam Dei.

2. Damnant Anabaptistas, qui improbant baptismum puerorum et affirmant pueros sine baptismo salvos fieri.

X. DE COENA DOMINI.

De Coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi *vere adsint*, et distribuantur vescentibus in Coena Domini, et improbant secus docentes.

XI. DE CONFESSIONE.

De confessione docent, quod *absolutio privata* in ecclesiis retinenda sit, quamquam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum enumeratio. Est enim impossibilis iuxta Psalmum: *Delicta quis intelligit?*

XII. DE POENITENTIA.

De poenitentia docent, quod lapsis post baptismum contingere possit remissio peccatorum quocunque tempore, quum convertuntur; et quod ecclesia talibus redeuntibus ad poenitentiam absolutionem impartiri debeat.

2. Constat autem *poenitentia* proprie his duabus partibus: Altera est *contritio* seu terrores incussi conscientiae agnito peccato; altera est *fides*, quae concipitur ex evangelio seu absolutione, et credit propter Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam, et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera, quae sunt *fructus poenitentiae*.

3. Damnant Anabaptistas, qui negant semel iustificatos posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum; item, qui contendunt quibusdam tantam perfectionem in hac vita contingere, ut peccare non possint. 4. Damnantur et Novatiani, qui nolebant absolvere lapsos post baptismum redeuntibus ad poenitentiam. Reiciuntur et isti, qui non docent remissionem peccatorum per fidem contingere, sed iubent nos mereri gratiam per satisfactiones nostras.

XIII. DE USU SACRAMENTORUM.

De usu sacramentorum docent, quod sacramenta instituta sint, non modo ut sint notae professionis inter homines, sed magis ut sint *signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei erga nos*, ad excitandam et confirmandam fidem in his qui utuntur proposita. 2. Itaque *utendum est sacramentis* ita ut fides accedat, quae credat promissionibus quae per sacramenta exhibentur et ostenduntur.

3. Damnant igitur illos qui docent, quod sacramenta ex opere operato iustificent, nec docent fidem requiri in usu sacramentorum, quae credat remitti peccata.

XIV. DE ORDINE ECCLESIASTICO.

De ordine ecclesiastico docent, quod nemo debeat in ecclesia publice docere aut sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus.

XV. DE RITIBUS ECCLESIASTICIS.

De ritibus ecclesiasticis docent, quod ritus illi servandi sint qui sine peccato servari possunt, et prosunt ad tranquillitatem et bonum ordinem in ecclesia, sicut certae feriae, festa et similia.

2. De talibus rebus tamen admonentur homines ne conscientiae onerentur, tamquam talis cultus ad salutem necessarius sit.

3. Admonentur etiam, quod traditiones humanae institutae ad placandum Deum, adpromerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis, adversentur evangelio et doctrinae fidei. Quare vota et traditiones de cibis et diebus etc. institutae ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis inutiles sint et contra evangelium.

XVI. DE REBUS CIVILIBUS.

De rebus civilibus docent, quod legitimae ordinationes civiles sint bona opera Dei, quod Christianis liceat gerere magistratus, exercere iudicia, iudicare res ex imperatoris et aliis praesentibus legibus, supplicia iure constituere, iure bellare, militare, lege contrahere, tenere proprium, iusiurandum postulantis magistratibus dare, ducere uxorem, nubere.

2. Damnant Anabaptistas, qui interdicunt haec civilia officia Christianis. 3. Damnant et illos qui evangelicam perfectionem non collocant in timore Dei et fide, sed in deserendis civilibus officiis, quia evangelium tradit iustitiam aeternam cordis. Interim non dissipat politiam aut oeconomiam, sed maxime postulat conservare tamquam ordinationes Dei, et in talibus ordinationibus exercere caritatem. 4. Itaque necessario debent Christiani obedire magistratibus suis et legibus, nisi quum iubent peccare; tunc enim magis debent obedire Deo quam hominibus, Act. v.

XVII. DE CHRISTI REDITU AD IUDICIUM.

Item docent, quod Christus apparebit in consummatione mundi ad iudicandum, et mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et electis dabit vitam aeternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines ac diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur.

2. Damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt hominibus damnatis ac diabolis finem poenarum futurum esse. 3. Damnant et alios, qui nunc spargunt Iudaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubique oppressis impiis.

XVIII. DE LIBERO ARBITRIO.

De libero arbitrio docent, quod humana voluntas habeat aliquam libertatem ad efficiendam civilem iustitiam et deligendas res rationi subiectas. Sed non habet vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendae iustitiae Dei seu iustitiae spiritualis, *quia animalis homo non percipit ea quae sunt spiritus Dei*; sed haec fit in cordibus, quum per verbum Spiritus Sanctus concepitur. 2. Haec totidem verbis dicit Augustinus lib. iii. [§ 5] Hypognoticon: 'Esse fatemur liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus,

habens quidem iudicium rationis, non per quod sit idoneum in iis quae ad Deum pertinent, sine Deo aut inchoare aut certe peragere, sed tantum in operibus vitae praesentis tam bonis quam etiam malis. *Bonis* dico, quae de bono naturae oriuntur, i. e. velle laborare in agro, velle manducare et bibere, velle habere amicum, velle habere indumenta, velle fabricare domum, uxorem velle ducere, pecora nutrire, artem discere diversarum rerum bonarum, velle quidquid bonum ad praesentem pertinet vitam: quae omnia non sine divino gubernaculo subsistunt, imo ex ipso et per ipsum sunt et esse coeperunt. *Malis* vero dico, ut est, velle idolum colere, velle homicidium' etc.

3. Damnant Pelagianos et alios qui docent, quod sine Spiritu Sancto solis naturae viribus possimus Deum super omnia diligere; item praecepta Dei facere quoad substantiam actuum. Quamquam enim externa opera aliquo modo efficere natura possit (potest enim continere manus a furto, a caede), tamen interiores motus non potest efficere, ut timorem Dei, fiduciam erga Deum, castitatem, patientiam etc.

XIX. DE CAUSA PECCATI.

De causa peccati docent, quod tametsi Deus creat et conservat naturam, tamen causa peccati est voluntas malorum, videlicet diaboli et impiorum, quae, non adiuvente Deo, avertit se a Deo, sicut Christus ait Iohann. viii: *Quum loquitur mendacium, ex se ipso loquitur.*

XX. DE FIDE ET BONIS OPERIBUS.

Falso accusantur nostri, quod bona opera prohibeant. Nam scripta eorum, quae exstant de decem praeceptis, et alia simili argumento testantur, quod utiliter docuerint de omnibus vitae generibus et officiis, quae genera vitae, quae opera in qualibet vocatione Deo placeant. De quibus rebus olim parum docebant concionatores; tantum puerilia et non necessaria opera urgebant, ut certas ferias, certa ieiunia, fraternitates, peregrinationes, cultus sanctorum, rosaria, monachatum et similia. 2. Haec adversarii nostri admoniti nunc dediscunt, nec perinde praedicant haec inutilia opera, ut olim. Praeterea incipiunt fidei mentionem facere, de qua olim mirum erat silentium; docent nos non tantum operibus iustificari, sed coniungunt fidem et opera, et dicunt nos fide et operibus iustificari. Quae doctrina tolerabilior est priore, et plus asferre potest consolationis quam vetus ipsorum doctrina.

A. De fide.

3. Quum igitur doctrina de fide, quam oportet in ecclesia praecipuam esse, tam diu iacuerit ignota, quemadmodum fateri omnes necesse est, de fidei iustitia altissimum silentium fuisse in concionibus, tantum doctrinam operum versatam esse in ecclesiis, nostri *de fide* sic admonuerunt ecclesias :

4. Principio, quod opera nostra non possint reconciliare Deum, aut mereri remissionem peccatorum et gratiam et iustificationem, sed hanc tantum fide consequimur, credentes, quod propter Christum recipiamur in gratiam, qui solus positus est mediator et propitiatorum, per quem reconcilietur Pater. Itaque qui confidit operibus se mereri gratiam, is aspernatur Christi meritum et gratiam, et quaerit sine Christo humanis viribus viam ad Deum, quum Christus de se dixerit : *Ego sum via, veritas et vita.*

5. Haec doctrina de fide ubique in Paulo tractatur. Ephes. ii : *Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem ; et hoc non ex vobis, Dei donum est, non ex operibus* etc. 6. Et ne quis cavilleter, a nobis novam Pauli interpretationem excogitari, tota haec causa habet testimonia Patrum. Nam Augustinus multis voluminibus defendit gratiam et iustitiam fidei contra merita operum. Et similia docet Ambrosius de vocatione gentium, et alibi. Sic enim inquit [i. § 5] de vocatione gentium : ‘Vile-sceret redemptio sanguinis Christi, nec misericordiae Dei humanorum operum prerogativa succumberet, si iustificatio, quae sit per gratiam, meritis praecedentibus deberetur, ut non munus largientis, sed merces esset operantis.’

7. Quamquam autem haec doctrina contemnitur ab imperitis, tamen experiuntur piae ac pavidae conscientiae, plurimum eam consolationis afferre, quia conscientiae non possunt reddi tranquillae per ulla opera, sed tantum fide, quum certo statuunt, quod propter Christum habeant placatum Deum ; quemadmodum Paulus docet Rom. v : *Iustificati per fidem pacem habemus apud Deum.* 8. Tota haec doctrina ad illud certamen perterrefactae conscientiae referenda est, nec sine illo certamine intelligi potest. Quare male iudicant de ea re homines imperiti et profani, qui Christianam iustitiam nihil esse somniant nisi civilem et philosophicam iustitiam.

9. Olim vexabantur conscientiae *doctrina operum* ; non audiebant ex evangelio consolationem. Quosdam conscientia expulit in desertum, in monasteria, sperantes ibi se gratiam merituos esse per vitam monasticam. Alii alia excogitaverunt opera ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis.

10. Ideo magnopere fuit opus hanc doctrinam *de fide in Christum* tradere et renovare, ne deesset consolatio pavidis conscientijs, sed scirent fide in Christum apprehendi gratiam et remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem.

11. Admonentur etiam homines, quod hic nomen *fidei* non significet tantum historiae notitiam, qualis est in impijs et diabolo, sed significet fidem quae credit non tantum historiam, sed etiam effectum historiae, videlicet hunc articulum, remissionem peccatorum, quod videlicet per Christum habeamus gratiam, iustitiam et remissionem peccatorum.

12. Iam qui scit *se per Christum habere propitium Patrem*, is vere novit Deum, scit se ei curae esse, invocatur eum; denique non est sine Deo, sicut gentes. Nam diaboli et impii non possunt hunc articulum credere, remissionem peccatorum. Ideo Deum tamquam hostem oderunt, non invocant eum, nihil boni ab eo expectant. 13. Augustinus etiam *de fidei* nomine hoc modo admonet lectorem, et docet in Scripturis nomen fidei accipi non pro notitia, qualis est in impijs, sed pro fiducia quae consolatur et erigit perterrefactas mentes.

B. De bonis operibus.

14. Praeterea docent nostri, quod necesse sit bona opera facere, non ut confidamus per ea gratiam mereri, sed propter voluntatem Dei. Tantum fide apprehenditur remissio peccatorum ac gratia. Et quia per fidem accipitur Spiritus Sanctus, iam corda renovantur et induunt novos affectus, ut parere bona opera possint. 15. Sic enim ait Ambrosius: 'Fides bonae voluntatis et iustae actionis genitrix est.' Nam humanae vires, sine Spiritu Sancto, plenae sunt impijs affectibus, et sunt imbecilliores quam ut bona opera possint efficere coram Deo. 16. Ad haec, sunt in potestate diaboli, qui impellit homines ad varia peccata, ad impias opiniones, ad manifesta scelera; quemadmodum est videre in philosophis, qui et ipsi conati honeste vivere, tamen id non potuerunt efficere, sed contaminati sunt multis manifestis sceleribus. Talis est imbecillitas hominis, quum est sine fide et sine Spiritu Sancto, et tantum humanis viribus se gubernat.

17. Hinc facile apparet hanc doctrinam non esse accusandam, quod bona opera prohibeat, sed multo magis laudandam, quod ostendit quomodo bona opera facere possimus. Nam sine fide nullo modo potest humana natura primi aut secundi praecepti opera facere. Sine fide non invocatur Deum, a Deo nihil expectatur, non tolerat crucem, sed quaerit humana praesidia,

confidit humanis praesidiis, 18. Ita regnant in corde omnes cupiditates et humana consilia, quum abest fides et fiducia erga Deum. Quare et Christus dixit: *Sine me nihil potestis facere*, Iohann. xv; et ecclesia canit: 'Sine tuo numine nihil est in homine, nihil est innoxium.'

XXI. DE CULTU SANCTORUM.

De cultu sanctorum docent, quod memoria sanctorum proponi potest, ut imitemur fidem eorum et bona opera iuxta vocationem, ut Caesar imitari potest exemplum Davidis in bello gerendo ad depellendos Turcas a patria. Nam uterque rex est. 2. Sed Scriptura non docet invocare sanctos, seu petere auxilium a sanctis; quia unum Christum nobis proponit mediatorum, propitiatorum, pontificem et intercessorem. 3. Hic invocandus est, et promisit se exauditurum esse preces nostras; et hunc cultum maxime probat, videlicet ut invocetur in omnibus afflictionibus. 1 Iohann. ii: *Si quis peccat, habemus advocatum apud Deum etc.*

XXII.

Haec fere summa est doctrinae apud nos, in qua cerni potest nihil inesse quod discrepet a Scripturis, vel ab ecclesia Catholica, vel ab ecclesia Romana, quatenus ex scriptoribus nota est. Quod quum ita sit, inclementer iudicant isti qui nostros pro haereticis haberi postulant. 2. Sed dissensio est *de quibusdam abusibus*, qui sine certa auctoritate in ecclesias irrepserunt, in quibus etiam si qua esset dissimilitudo, tamen decebat haec lenitas episcopos, ut propter confessionem, quam modo recensuimus, tolerarent nostros, quia ne Canones quidem tam duri sunt ut eosdem ritus ubique esse postulent, neque similes unquam omnium ecclesiarum ritus fuerunt. 3. Quamquam apud nos magna ex parte veteres ritus diligenter servantur. Falsa enim calumnia est, quod omnes ceremoniae, omnia vetera instituta in ecclesiis nostris aboleantur. Verum publica querela fuit, *abusus quosdam* in vulgaribus ritibus haerere. Hi quia non poterant bona conscientia probari, aliqua ex parte correcti sunt.

PARS II. ARTICULI IN QUIBUS RECENSENTUR ABUSUS MUTATI.

Quum ecclesiae apud nos de nullo articulo fidei dissentiant ab ecclesia Catholica, tantum paucos quosdam abusos omittant, qui novi sunt et contra voluntatem Canonum vitio temporum recepti, rogamus ut Caesarica Maiestas clementer audiat, et *quid sit mutatum*, et quae fuerint causae quo minus coactus

sit populus illos abusus contra conscientiam observare. Nec habeat fidem Caesarea Maiestas istis, qui, ut inflamment odia hominum adversus nostros, miras calumnias spargunt in populum. 2. Hoc modo irritatis animis bonorum virorum initio praebuerunt occasionem huic dissidio, et eadem arte conantur nunc augere discordias. Nam Caesarea Maiestas haud dubie comperiet tolerabiliorem esse formam et doctrinae et ceremoniarum apud nos, quam qualem homines iniqui et malevoli describunt. Porro veritas ex vulgi rumoribus aut maledictis inimicorum colligi non potest. Facile autem hoc iudicari potest, nihil magis prodesse ad dignitatem ceremoniarum conservandam et alendam reverentiam ac pietatem in populo, quam si ceremoniae rite fiant in ecclesiis.

I. DE UTRAQUE SPECIE.

Laicis datur utraque species sacramenti in Coena Domini, quia hic mos habet mandatum Domini Matt. xxvi: *Bibite ex hoc omnes*; ubi manifeste praecepit Christus de poculo ut omnes bibant. 2. Et ne quis possit cavillari, quod hoc ad sacerdotes tantum pertineat, Paulus ad Corinth. exemplum recitat, in quo apparet totam ecclesiam utraque specie usam esse. 3. Et diu mansit hic mos in ecclesia, nec constat quando aut quo auctore mutatus sit, tametsi Cardinalis Cusanus recitet quando sit approbatus. 4. Cyprianus aliquot locis testatur populo sanguinem datum esse. Idem testatur Hieronymus, qui ait: 'Sacerdotes eucharistiae ministrant et sanguinem Christi populis dividunt.' Imo Gelasius Papa mandat ne dividatur sacramentum, dist. II *de consecratione*, cap. *Comperimus*.¹ 5. Tantum consuetudo non ita vetus aliud habet. Constat autem quod consuetudo contra mandata Dei introducta non sit probanda, ut testantur Canones, dist. VIII, cap. *Veritate*,² cum sequentibus. 6. Haec vero consuetudo non solum contra Scripturam, sed etiam contra veteres Canones et exemplum ecclesiae recepta est. Quare si qui maluerunt utraque specie sacramenti uti, non fuerunt cogendi ut aliter facerent cum offensione conscientiae.

7. Et quia divisio sacramenti non convenit cum institutione Christi, solet apud nos omitti *processio*, quae hactenus fieri solita est.

II. DE CONIUGIO SACERDOTUM.

Publica querela fuit de exemplis *sacerdotum qui non continent*. Quam ob causam et Pius Papa dixisse fertur fuisse aliquas causas cur ademptum sit sacerdotibus coniugium,

¹ Decreti P. III, ii. 12.

² *ibid.* I. viii. 4-9.

sed multo maiores esse causas cur reddi debeat; sic enim scribit Platina. 2. Quum igitur sacerdotes apud nos publica illa scandala vitare vellent, duxerunt uxores, ac docuerunt quod liceat ipsis contrahere matrimonium. Primum, quia Paulus dicit: *Unusquisque habeat uxorem suam propter fornicationem*; item: *Melius est nubere quam uri*. Secundo Christus inquit: *Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc*: ubi docet non omnes homines ad caelibatum idoneos esse, quia Deus creavit hominem ad procreationem, Genes. i. 3. Nec est humane potestatis sine singulari dono et opere Dei creationem mutare. Igitur qui non sunt idonei ad caelibatum, debent contrahere matrimonium. Nam mandatum Dei et ordinationem Dei nulla lex humana, nullum votum tollere potest. 4. Ex his causis docent sacerdotes sibi licere uxores ducere. Constat etiam in ecclesia veteri sacerdotes fuisse maritos. Nam et Paulus ait, *episcopum eligendum esse qui sit maritus*. 5. Et in Germania primum ante annos quadringentos sacerdotes vi coacti sunt ad caelibatum, qui quidem adeo adversati sunt ut archiepiscopus Moguntinus, publicaturus edictum Romani Pontificis de ea re, pæne ab iratis sacerdotibus per tumultum oppressus sit. Et res gesta est tam inciviliter ut non solum in posterum coniugia prohiberentur, sed etiam presentia, contra omnia iura divina et humana, contra ipsos etiam Canones, factos non solum a Pontificibus sed a laudatissimis synodis, distraherentur.

6. Et quum senescente mundo paulatim natura humana fiat imbecillior, convenit prospicere ne plura vitia serpent in Germaniam. Porro Deus instituit coniugium, ut esset remedium humane infirmitatis. Ipsi Canones veterem rigorem interdum posterioribus temporibus propter imbecillitatem hominum laxandum esse dicunt; quod optandum est ut fiat et in hoc negotio. Ac videntur ecclesiis aliquando defuturi pastores, si diutius prohibeatur coniugium.

7. Quum autem exstet mandatum Dei, quum mos ecclesie notus sit, quum impurus caelibatus plurima pariat scandala, adulteria et alia scelera, digna animadversione boni magistratus: tamen mirum est, nulla in re maiorem exerceri sævitiam quam adversus *coniugium sacerdotum*. Deus praecepit honore afficere coniugium. Leges in omnibus rebus publicis bene constitutis, etiam apud ethnicos, maximis honoribus ornaverunt. 8. At nunc capitalibus poenis excruciantur, et quidem sacerdotes, contra Canonum voluntatem, nullam aliam ob causam nisi propter coniugium. Paulus vocat doctrinam daemoniorum,

quae prohibet coniugium, 1 Timoth. iv. Id facile nunc intelligi potest, quum talibus suppliciiis prohibitio coniugii defenditur.

9. Sicut autem nulla lex humana potest mandatum Dei tollere, ita nec votum potest tollere mandatum Dei. Proinde etiam Cyprianus suadet, ut mulieres nubant quae non servant promissam castitatem. Verba eius sunt haec libr. I, epistola XI: 'Si autem perseverare nolunt, aut non possunt, melius est ut nubant quam ut in ignem deliciis suis cadant; certe nullum fratribus aut sororibus scandalum faciant.'¹ Et aequitate quadam utuntur ipsi Canones erga hos qui ante iustam aetatem voverunt, quomodo fere hactenus fieri consuevit.

III. DE MISSA.

Falso accusantur ecclesiae nostrae quod missam aboleant. Retinetur enim missa apud nos, et summa reverentia celebratur. Servantur et usitatae ceremoniae fere omnes, praeterquam quod Latinis cantionibus admiscerentur alicubi Germanicae, quae additae sunt ad docendum populum. Nam ad hoc unum opus est ceremoniis, ut doceant imperitos. Et non modo Paulus praecipit uti lingua intellecta populo in ecclesia, sed etiam ita constitutum est humano iure.

2. Assuefit populus, ut una utantur sacramento, si qui sunt idonei; id quoque auget reverentiam ac religionem publicarum ceremoniarum. Nulli enim admittuntur, nisi antea explorati. Admonentur etiam homines de dignitate et usu sacramenti, quantam consolationem afferat pavidis conscientis, ut discant Deo credere, et omnia bona a Deo expectare et petere. 3. Hic cultus delectat Deum; talis usus sacramenti alit pietatem erga Deum. Itaque non videntur apud adversarios missae maiore religione fieri quam apud nos.

4. Constat autem hanc quoque publicam et longe maximam quereclam omnium bonorum virorum diu fuisse, quod missae turpiter profanarentur, collatae ad quaestum. Neque enim obscurum est quam late pateat hic abusus in omnibus templis, a qualibus celebrentur missae tantum propter mercedem aut stipendium, quam multi contra interdictum Canonum celebrant. 5. Paulus autem graviter minatur his qui indigne tractant eucharistiam, quum ait: *Qui ederit panem hunc aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini.* Itaque quum apud nos admonerentur sacerdotes de hoc peccato, desierunt apud nos privatae missae, quum fere nullae privatae missae nisi quaestus causa fierent.

6. Neque ignoraverunt hos abusus episcopi; qui si correxis-

¹ Ep. iv. § 2 (*Opera* ii. 474, ed. Hartel).

sent eos in tempore, minus nunc esset dissensionum. Antea sua dissimulatione multa vitia passi sunt in ecclesiam serpere. Nunc sero incipiunt queri de calamitatibus ecclesiae, quum hic tumultus non aliunde sumpserit occasionem, quam ex illis abusibus, qui tam manifesti erant ut tolerari amplius non possent. 7. Magnae dissensiones de missa, de sacramento exstiterunt. Fortasse dat poenas orbis tam diuturnae profanationis missarum, quam in ecclesiis tot saeculis toleraverunt isti qui emendari et poterant et debebant. Nam in decalogo scriptum est: *Qui Dei nomine abutitur, non erit impunitus*. At ab initio mundi nulla res divina ita videtur unquam ad quaestum collata fuisse ut missa.

8. Accessit opinio, quae auxit privatas missas in infinitum, videlicet quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccato originis, et instituerit missam, in qua fieret oblatio pro quotidianis delictis, mortalibus et venialibus. 9. Hinc manavit publica opinio, quod missa sit opus delens peccata vivorum et mortuorum ex opere operato. Hic coeptum est disputari, utrum una missa, dicta pro pluribus, tantundem valeat, quantum singulae pro singulis. Haec disputatio peperit istam infinitam multitudinem missarum.

10. De his opinionibus nostri admonuerunt, quod dissentiant a Scripturis Sanctis, et laedant gloriam passionis Christi. Nam passio Christi fuit oblatio et satisfactio non solum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus reliquis peccatis, ut ad Hebraeos scriptum est: *Sanctificati sumus per oblationem Iesu Christi semel*; item: *Una oblatione consummavit in perpetuum sanctificatos*.

11. Item Scriptura docet nos coram Deo iustificari per fidem in Christum, quum credimus nobis remitti peccata propter Christum. Iam si missa delet peccata vivorum et mortuorum ex opere operato, contingit iustificatio ex opere missarum, non ex fide, quod Scriptura non patitur.

12. Sed Christus iubet *facere in sui memoriam*. Quare missa instituta est, ut fides in iis, qui utuntur sacramento, recordetur quae beneficia accipiat per Christum, et erigat et consoletur pavidam conscientiam. Nam id est meminisse Christi, beneficia meminisse ac sentire, quod vere exhibeantur nobis. Nec satis est historiam recordari, quia hanc etiam Iudaei et impii recordari possunt. Est igitur ad hoc facienda missa, ut ibi porrigatur sacramentum his quibus opus est consolatione, sicut Ambrosius ait: 'Quia semper pecco, semper debeo accipere medicinam.'

14. Quum autem missa sit talis communicatio sacramenti,

servatur apud nos una communis missa singulis feriis atque aliis etiam diebus, si qui sacramento velint uti, ubi porrigitur sacramentum his qui petunt. Neque hic mos in ecclesia novus est. Nam veteres ante Gregorium non faciunt mentionem privatae missae: de communi missa plurimum loquuntur. 15. Chrysostomus ait: 'Sacerdotem quotidie stare ad altare, et alios ad communionem accersere, alios arcere.' Et ex Canonibus veteribus apparet unum aliquem celebrasse missam, a quo reliqui presbyteri et diaconi sumpserunt corpus Domini. Sic enim sonant verba canonis [18] Nicaeni: 'Accipiant diaconi secundum ordinem post presbyteros ab episcopo vel a presbytero sacram communionem.' Et Paulus de communione iubet ut alii alios expectent, ut fiat communis participatio.

16. Postquam igitur missa apud nos habet exemplum ecclesiae, ex Scriptura et Patribus, confidimus improbari eam non posse, maxime quum publicae ceremoniae magna ex parte similes usitatis serventur; tantum numerus missarum est dissimilis, quem propter maximos et manifestos abusos certe moderari prodesset. 17. Nam olim etiam in ecclesiis frequentissimis non fiebat quotidie missa, ut testatur Historia Tripartita lib. IX, cap. XXXVIII: 'Rursus autem in Alexandria quarta et sexta feria Scripturae leguntur, easque doctores interpretantur, et omnia fiunt praeter solennem oblationis morem.'¹

IV. DE CONFessione.

Confessio in ecclesiis apud nos non est abolita. Non enim solet porrigi corpus Domini nisi antea exploratis et absolutis. Et docetur populus diligentissime de fide *absolutionis*, de qua ante haec tempora magnum erat silentium. Docentur homines, ut absolutionem plurimi faciant, quia sit vox Dei et mandato Dei pronuntietur. 2. Ornatur *potestas clavium*, et commemoratur, quantam consolationem afferat perterrefactis conscientiis, et quod requirat Deus fidem, ut illi absolutioni tamquam voci de coelo sonanti credamus, et quod illa fides vere consequatur et accipiat remissionem peccatorum. 3. Antea immodice extollebantur satisfactiones: fidei et meriti Christi ac iustitiae fidei nulla fiebat mentio. Quare in hac parte minime sunt culpandae ecclesiae nostrae. Nam hoc etiam adversarii tribuere nobis coguntur, quod *doctrina de poenitentia* diligentissime a nostris tractata ac patefacta sit.

4. Sed de *confessione* docent, quod enumeratio delictorum non sit necessaria, nec sint onerandae conscientiae cura

¹ M. Aurelii Cassiodori [468-†575] *Hist. Tripart.* ix. 38 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* lxxix. 1155 D)

enumerandi omnia delicta, quia impossibile est omnia delicta recitare, ut testatur Psalmus: *Delicta quis intelligit?* Item Ieremias: *Pravum est cor hominis et inscrutabile.* Quod si nulla peccata nisi recitata remitterentur, nunquam adquiescere conscientiae possent, quia plurima peccata neque vident, neque meminisse possunt. 5. Testantur et veteres scriptores enumerationem non esse necessariam. Nam in Decretis citatur Chrysostomus, qui sic ait: 'Non tibi dico, ut te prodas in publicum, neque apud alios te accuses, sed obedire te volo prophetae dicenti: *Revela ante Deum viam tuam.* Ergo tua confitere peccata apud Deum, verum iudicem, cum oratione. Delicta tua pronuntia non lingua, sed conscientiae tuae memoria' etc. Et Glossa de *poenitentia*,¹ Dist. V, Cap. *Consideret*, fatetur humani iuris esse confessionem. 6. Verum confessio, tum propter maximum absolutionis beneficium, tum propter alias conscientiarum utilitates apud nos retinetur.

V. DE DISCRIMINE CIBORUM ET TRADITIONIBUS.

Publica persuasio fuit non tantum vulgi, sed etiam docentium in ecclesiis, quod discrimina ciborum et similes traditiones humanae sint opera ad promerendam gratiam et satisfactoria pro peccatis. Et quod sic senserit mundus, apparet ex eo quia quotidie instituebantur novae ceremoniae, novi ordines, novae feriae, nova ieiunia, et doctores in templis exigebant haec opera tanquam necessarium cultum ad promerendam gratiam, et vehementer terrebant conscientias, si quid omitterent. 2. Ex hac persuasione de traditionibus multa incommoda in ecclesia secuta sunt.

Primo obscurata est doctrina de gratia et iustitia fidei, quae est praecipua pars evangelii, et quam maxime oportet exstare et eminere in ecclesia, ut meritum Christi bene cognoscatur, et fides, quae credit remitti peccata propter Christum, longe supra opera collocetur. 3. Quare et Paulus in hunc locum maxime incumbit, legem et traditiones humanas removet, ut ostendat iustitiam Christianam aliud quiddam esse quam huiusmodi opera, videlicet fidem, quae credit peccata gratis remitti propter Christum. 4. At haec doctrina Pauli paene tota oppressa est per traditiones, quae pepererunt opinionem, quod per discrimina ciborum et similes cultus oporteat mereri gratiam et iustitiam. In poenitentia nulla mentio fiebat de fide, tantum haec opera satisfactoria proponebantur; in his videbatur poenitentia tota consistere.

¹ Decreti P. II, Causa xxxiii, Qu. 3 [De Poenitentia] Dist. v, Cap. 1.

5. *Secundo* hae traditiones obscuraverunt praecepta Dei, quia traditiones longe praeferebantur praeceptis Dei. Christianismus totus putabatur esse observatio certarum feriarum, rituum, ieiuniorum, vestitus. Hae observationes erant in possessione honestissimi tituli, quod essent vita spiritualis et vita perfecta. 6. Interim mandata Dei iuxta vocationem nullam laudem habebant: quod paterfamilias educabat sobolem, quod mater pariebat, quod princeps regebat rempublicam. Haec putabantur esse opera mundana et imperfecta et longe deteriora illis splendidis observationibus. 7. Et hic error valde cruciavit pias conscientias, quae dolebant se teneri imperfecto vitae genere, in coniugio, in magistratibus, aut aliis functionibus civilibus, mirabantur monachos et similes, et falso putabant illorum observationes Deo gratiores esse.

8. *Tertio* traditiones attulerunt magna pericula conscientiis, quia impossibile erat omnes traditiones servare, et tamen homines arbitrabantur has observationes necessarias esse cultus. 9. Gerson scribit, multos incidisse in desperationem, quosdam etiam sibi mortem conscivisse, quia senserant se non posse satisfacere traditionibus, et interim consolationem nullam de iustitia fidei et de gratia audierant.

10. Videmus Summistas et theologos colligere traditiones, et quaerere *ἐπιμελείας*, ut levant conscientias; non satis tamen expediunt, sed interdum magis iniiciunt laqueos conscientiis. Et in colligendis traditionibus ita fuerunt occupatae scholae et conciones ut non vacaverit attingere Scripturam, et quaerere utiliore doctrinam de fide, de cruce, de spe, de dignitate civilium rerum, de consolatione conscientiarum in arduis tentationibus. 11. Itaque Gerson et alii quidam theologi graviter questi sunt se his rixis traditionum impediri quo minus versari possent in meliore genere doctrinae. Et Augustinus vetat onerare conscientias huiusmodi observationibus, et prudenter admonet Ianuarium, ut sciat 'eas indifferenter observandas esse'¹; sic enim loquitur.

12. Quare nostri non debent videri hanc causam temere attigisse aut odio episcoporum, ut quidam falso suspicantur. Magna necessitas fuit, de illis erroribus, qui nati erant ex traditionibus male intellectis, admonere ecclesias. Nam evangelium cogit urgere doctrinam in ecclesiis de gratia et iustitia fidei, quae tamen intelligi non potest, si putent homines se mereri gratiam per observationes ab ipsis electas.

13. Sic igitur docuerunt, quod per observationem traditionum humanarum non possimus gratiam mereri aut iustificari.

¹ *Ep.* liv. § 2.

Quare non est sentiendum quod huiusmodi observationes sint necessarius cultus.

14. Addunt testimonia ex Scriptura. Christus Matth. xv excusat Apostolos, qui non servaverant usitatam traditionem, quae tamen videbatur de re non illicita, sed media esse, et habere cognationem cum baptismatibus legis; et dicit: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum*. Igitur non exigit cultum inutilem. Et paulo post addit: *Omne quod intrat in os, non inquinat hominem*. 15. Item Paulus Roman. xiv: *Regnum Dei non est esca aut potus*. Coloss. ii: *Nemo iudicet vos in cibo, potu, sabbato aut die festo*. Item: *Si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi, quare tamquam viventes in mundo decreta facitis: ne attingas, ne gustes, ne contrectes?* 16. Actor. xv ait Petrus: *Quare tentatis Deum, imponentes iugum super cervices discipulorum, quod neque nos neque patres nostri portare potuimus? Sed per gratiam Domini nostri Iesu Christi credimus salvari, quemadmodum et illi*. Hic vetat Petrus onerare conscientias pluribus ritibus sive Mosi, sive aliis. 17. Et 1 Timoth. iv vocat prohibitionem ciborum doctrinam daemoniorum, quia pugnat cum evangelio, talia opera instituire aut facere, ut per ea mereamur gratiam, aut quod non possit existere Christianismus sine tali cultu.

18. Hic obiciunt adversarii, quod nostri prohibeant disciplinam et mortificationem carnis, sicut Iovinianus. Verum aliud deprehenditur ex scriptis nostrorum. Semper enim docuerunt de cruce, quod Christianos oporteat tolerare afflictiones. Haec est vera, seria et non simulata mortificatio, variis afflictionibus exerceri et crucifigi cum Christo.

19. Insuper docent quod quilibet Christianus debeat se corporali disciplina aut corporalibus exercitiis et laboribus sic exercere et coercere, ne saturitas aut desidia exstimulet ad peccandum, non ut per illa exercitia mereamur gratiam, aut satisfaciamus pro peccatis. 20. Et hanc corporalem disciplinam oportet semper urgere, non solum paucis et constitutis diebus; sicut Christus praecepit: *Cavete, ne corpora vestra graventur crapula*; item *Hoc genus daemoniorum non eiicitur nisi ieiunio et oratione*. Et Paulus ait: *Castigo corpus meum, et redigo in servitutem*; ubi clare ostendit se ideo castigare corpus, non ut per eam disciplinam mereatur remissionem peccatorum, sed ut corpus habeat obnoxium et idoneum ad res spirituales et ad faciendum officium iuxta vocationem suam. 21. Itaque non damnantur ipsa ieiunia, sed traditiones, quae certos dies, certos cibos praescribunt cum periculo conscientiae, tamquam istiusmodi opera sint necessarius cultus.

Quare non est sentiendum quod huiusmodi observationes sint necessarius cultus.

14. Addunt testimonia ex Scriptura. Christus Matth. xv excusat Apostolos, qui non servaverant usitatam traditionem, quae tamen videbatur de re non illicita, sed media esse, et habere cognationem cum baptismatibus legis; et dicit: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum*. Igitur non exigit cultum inutilem. Et paulo post addit: *Omne quod intrat in os, non inquinat hominem*. 15. Item Paulus Roman. xiv: *Regnum Dei non est esca aut potus*. Coloss. ii: *Nemo iudicet vos in cibo, potu, sabbato aut die festo*. Item: *Si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi, quare tanquam viventes in mundo decreta facitis: ne attingas, ne gustes, ne contrectes?* 16. Actor. xv ait Petrus: *Quare tentatis Deum, imponentes iugum super cervices discipulorum, quod neque nos neque patres nostri portare potuimus? Sed per gratiam Domini nostri Iesu Christi credimus salvari, quemadmodum et illi*. Hic vetat Petrus onerare conscientias pluribus ritibus sive Mosi, sive aliis. 17. Et i Timoth. iv vocat prohibitionem ciborum doctrinam daemoniorum, quia pugnat cum evangelio, talia opera instituire aut facere, ut per ea mereamur gratiam, aut quod non possit existere Christianismus sine tali cultu.

18. Hic obiciunt adversarii, quod nostri prohibeant disciplinam et mortificationem carnis, sicut Iovinianus. Verum aliud deprehendatur ex scriptis nostrorum. Semper enim docuerunt de cruce, quod Christianos oporteat tolerare afflictiones. Haec est vera, seria et non simulata mortificatio, variis afflictionibus exerceri et crucifigi cum Christo.

19. Insuper docent quod quilibet Christianus debeat se corporali disciplina aut corporalibus exercitiis et laboribus sic exercere et coercere, ne saturitas aut desidia exstimulet ad peccandum, non ut per illa exercitia mereamur gratiam, aut satisfaciamus pro peccatis. 20. Et hanc corporalem disciplinam oportet semper urgere, non solum paucis et constitutis diebus; sicut Christus praecepit: *Cavete, ne corpora vestra graventur crapula*; item *Hoc genus daemoniorum non eiicitur nisi ieiunio et oratione*. Et Paulus ait: *Castigo corpus meum, et redigo in servitutem*; ubi clare ostendit se ideo castigare corpus, non ut per eam disciplinam mereatur remissionem peccatorum, sed ut corpus habeat obnoxium et idoneum ad res spirituales et ad faciendum officium iuxta vocationem suam. 21. Itaque non damnantur ipsa ieiunia, sed traditiones, quae certos dies, certos cibos praescribunt cum periculo conscientiae, tanquam istiusmodi opera sint necessarius cultus.

22. Servantur tamen apud nos pleraeque traditiones, quae conducunt ad hoc ut res ordine geratur in ecclesia; ut ordo lectionum in missa et praecipuae feriae. Sed interim homines admonentur quod talis cultus non iustificet coram Deo, et quod non sit ponendum peccatum in talibus rebus, si omitantur sine scandalo. 23. Haec libertas in ritibus humanis non fuit ignota Patribus. Nam in Oriente alio tempore servaverunt pascha quam Romae: et quum Romani propter hanc dissimilitudinem accusarent Orientem schismatis, admoniti sunt ab aliis, tales mores non oportere ubique similes esse. 24. Et Irenaeus inquit: 'Dissonantia ieiunii fidei consonantiam non solvit': sicut et Dist. XII. Gregorius Papa¹ significat, talem dissimilitudinem non laedere unitatem ecclesiae. Et in Historia Tripartita lib. IX multa colliguntur exempla dissimilium rituum, et recitantur haec verba: 'Mens Apostolorum fuit, non de diebus festis sancire, sed praedicare bonam conversationem et pietatem.'²

VI. DE VOTIS MONACHORUM.

Quid de votis monachorum apud nos doceatur, melius intelliget si quis meminerit qualis status fuerit monasteriorum, quam multa contra Canones in ipsis monasteriis quotidie fiebant. 2. Augustini tempore erant libera collegia. Postea, corrupta disciplina, ubique addita sunt vota, ut tamquam ex-cogitato carcere disciplina restitueretur. 3. Additae sunt paulatim supra vota aliae multae observationes; et haec vincula multis ante iustam aetatem contra Canones iniecta sunt. Multi inciderunt errore in hoc vitae genus, quibus etiamsi non decessent anni, tamen iudicium de suis viribus defuit. 4. Qui sic irretiti erant, cogebantur manere, etiamsi quidam beneficio Canonum liberari possent. Et hoc accidit magis etiam in monasteriis virginum quam monachorum, quum sexui imbecilliori magis parcendum esset. 5. Hic rigor displicuit multis bonis viris ante haec tempora, qui videbant puellas et adolescentes in monasteria detrudi propter victum, videbant quam infelice succederet hoc consilium, quae scandala pareret, quos laqueos conscientiae iniiceret. Dolebant auctoritatem Canonum in re periculosissima omnino neglegi et contemni.

6. Ad haec mala accedebat talis persuasio de votis, quam constat etiam olim displicuisse ipsis monachis, si qui paulo cordatiores fuerunt. Docebant vota paria esse baptismo; docebant se hoc vitae genere mereri remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem coram Deo: imo addebant, vitam monasticam

¹ Decreti P. I, Dist. xii, Cap. 10.

² Hist. Tr. ix. § 38.

non tantum iustitiam mereri coram Deo, sed amplius etiam, quia servaret non modo *praecepta*, sed etiam *consilia evangelica*.

7. Ita persuadebant monasticam professionem longe meliorem esse baptismo, vitam monasticam plus mereri quam vitam magistratuum, vitam pastorum et similium, qui in mandatis Dei sine faciliis religionibus suae vocationi serviunt. Nihil horum negari potest; exstant enim in libris eorum.

8. Quid fiebat postea in monasteriis? Olim erant scholae sacrarum literarum et aliarum disciplinarum, quae sunt utiles ecclesiae, et sumebantur inde pastores et episcopi. Nunc alia res est; nihil opus est recitare nota. 9. Olim ad discendum conveniebant: nunc fingunt institutum esse vitae genus ad promerendam gratiam et iustitiam; imo praedicant esse statum perfectionis, et longe praefereunt omnibus aliis vitae generibus a Deo ordinatis.

10. Haec ideo recitavimus nihil odiose exaggerantes, ut melius intelligi posset de hac re doctrina nostrorum. *Primum* de his qui matrimonia contrahunt, sic docent apud nos, quod liceat omnibus, qui non sunt idonei ad caelibatum, contrahere matrimonium, quia vota non possunt ordinationem ac mandatum Dei tollere. 11. Est autem hoc mandatum Dei: *Propter fornicationem habet unusquisque uxorem suam*. Neque mandatum solum, sed etiam creatio et ordinatio Dei cogit hos ad coniugium qui sine singulari Dei opere non sunt excepti, iuxta illud: *Non est bonum homini esse solum*. 12. Igitur non peccant isti qui obtemperant huic mandato et ordinationi Dei. Quid potest contra haec opponi? Exaggeret aliquis obligationem voti quantum volet, tamen non poterit efficere ut votum tollat mandatum Dei.

13. Canones docent in omni voto ius superioris excipi. Quare multo minus haec vota contra mandata Dei valent.

14. Quodsi obligatio votorum nullas haberet causas cur mutari possit: nec Romani Pontifices dispensassent. Neque enim licet homini obligationem quae simpliciter est iuris divini rescindere. Sed prudenter iudicaverunt Romani Pontifices aequitatem in hac obligatione adhibendam esse. 15. Ideo saepe de votis dispensasse leguntur. Nota est historia de rege Arragonum, revocato ex monasterio: et exstant exempla nostri temporis.

16. *Deinde*, cur obligationem exaggerant adversarii seu effectum voti, quum interim de ipsa voti natura silcant, quod debet esse in re possibili, quod debet esse voluntarium, sponte et consulto conceptum? At quomodo sit in potestate hominis perpetua castitas non est ignotum. Et quotusquisque

sponte et consulto vovit? 17. Puellae et adolescentes, priusquam iudicare possunt, persuadentur ad vovendum, interdum etiam coguntur. Quare non est aequum tam rigide de obligatione disputare, quum omnes fateantur contra voti naturam esse, quod non sponte, quod inconsulto admittitur.

18. Plerique Canones rescindunt vota ante annum XV contracta, quia ante illam aetatem non videtur tantum esse iudicii ut de perpetua vita constitui possit. Alius Canon, plus concedens hominum imbecillitati, addit annos aliquot; vetat enim ante annum XVIII votum fieri. Sed utrum sequemur: maxima pars habet excusationem cur monasteria deserant, quia plurimi ante hanc aetatem voverunt.

19. *Postremo*, etiamsi voti violatio reprehendi posset, tamen non videtur statim sequi quod coniugia talium personarum dissolvenda sint. Nam Augustinus¹ negat debere dissolvi, XXVII quaest. I Cap. *Nuptiarum*; cuius non est levis auctoritas, etiamsi alii postea aliter senserunt.

20. Quamquam autem mandatum Dei de coniugio videatur plerosque liberare a votis, tamen asserunt nostri et aliam rationem de votis, quod sint irrita: quia omnis cultus Dei, ab hominibus sine mandato Dei institutus et electus ad promerendam iustificationem et gratiam, impius est, sicut Christus ait: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum.* 21. Et Paulus ubique docet, iustitiam non esse quaerendam ex nostris observationibus et cultibus, qui sint excogitati ab hominibus, sed contingere eam per fidem credentibus se recipi in gratiam a Deo propter Christum.

22. Constat autem monachos docuisse, quod facticiae religiones satisfaciant pro peccatis, mereantur gratiam et iustificationem. Quid hoc est aliud quam de gloria Christi detrahere, et obscurare ac negare iustitiam fidei? 23. Sequitur igitur ista vota usitata impios cultus fuisse; quare sunt irrita. Nam votum impium et factum contra mandata Dei non valet; *neque enim debet votum vinculum esse iniquitatis*, ut Canon dicit.

24. Paulus dicit: *Evacuati estis a Christo, qui in lege iustificamini, a gratia excidistis.* Ergo etiam, qui votis iustificari volunt, evacuantur a Christo et a gratia excidunt. Nam et hi, qui votis tribuunt iustificationem, tribuunt propriis operibus hoc quod proprie ad gloriam Christi pertinet. 25. Neque vero negari potest, quin monachi docuerint se per vota et observationes suas iustificari et mereri remissionem peccatorum; imo affinxerunt absurdiora, dixerunt se aliis mutuari sua opera.

¹ That is, Augustine as quoted in Decreti P. II, Causa xxvii, Qu. I, Cap. 41, 'Nuptiarum.'

Haec si quis velit odiose exaggerare, quam multa possit colligere, quorum iam ipsos monachos pudet! 26. Ad haec persuaserunt hominibus, facticias religiones esse statum Christianae perfectionis. Annon est hoc iustificationem tribuere operibus? 27. Non est leve scandalum in ecclesia, populo proponere certum cultum ab hominibus excogitatum sine mandato Dei, et docere quod talis cultus iustificet homines: quia iustitia fidei, quam maxime oportet tradi in ecclesia, obscuratur, quum illae mirificae religiones Angelorum, simulatio *paupertatis et humilitatis et caelibatus* offunduntur oculis hominum.

28. Praeterea obscurantur praecepta Dei et verus cultus Dei, quum audiunt homines solos monachos esse in statu perfectionis; quia perfectio Christiana est serio timere Deum, et rursus concipere magnam fidem, et confidere propter Christum quod habeamus Deum placatum, petere a Deo, et certo expectare auxilium in omnibus rebus gerendis, iuxta vocationem; interim foris diligenter facere bona opera, et servire vocationi; 29. In his rebus est *vera perfectio et verus cultus Dei*; non est in caelibatu, aut mendicitate, aut veste sordida. Verum populus concipit multas perniciosas opiniones ex illis falsis praeconiis vitae monasticae. 30. Audit sine modo laudari caelibatum: ideo cum offensione conscientiae versatur in coniugio. Audit solos mendicos esse perfectos: ideo cum offensione conscientiae retinet possessiones, negotiatur. Audit consilium evangelicum esse de non vindicando; ideo alii in privata vita non verentur ulcisci: audiunt enim consilium esse non praeceptum. Alii omnes magistratus et civilia officia iudicant indigna esse Christianis.

31. Leguntur exempla hominum, qui deserto coniugio, deserto reipublicae administratione, abdiderunt se in monasteria. Id vocabant fugere ex mundo, et quaerere vitae genus quod Deo magis placeret; nec videbant Deo serviendum esse in illis mandatis quae ipse tradidit, non in mandatis quae sunt excogitata ab hominibus. 32. *Bonum et perfectum vitae genus est quod habet mandatum Dei.* De his rebus necesse est admonere homines. Et ante haec tempora reprehendit Gerson errorem monachorum de perfectione, et testatur suis temporibus novam vocem fuisse quod vita monastica sit status perfectionis.

33. Tam multae impiae opiniones haerent in votis, quod iustificent, quod sint perfectio Christiana, quod servent consilia et praecepta, quod habeant opera supererogationis. Haec omnia quum sint falsa et inania, faciunt vota irrita.

Haec si quis velit odiose exaggerare, quam multa possit colligere, quorum iam ipsos monachos pudet! 26. Ad haec persuaserunt hominibus, facticias religiones esse statum Christianae perfectionis. Annon est hoc iustificationem tribuere operibus? 27. Non est leve scandalum in ecclesia, populo proponere certum cultum ab hominibus excogitatum sine mandato Dei, et docere quod talis cultus iustificet homines: quia iustitia fidei, quam maxime oportet tradi in ecclesia, obscuratur, quum illae mirificae religiones Angelorum, simulatio *paupertatis et humilitatis et caelibatus* offunduntur oculis hominum.

28. Praeterea obscurantur praecepta Dei et verus cultus Dei, quum audiunt homines solos monachos esse in statu perfectionis; quia perfectio Christiana est serio timere Deum, et rursus concipere magnam fidem, et confidere propter Christum quod habeamus Deum placatum, petere a Deo, et certo expectare auxilium in omnibus rebus gerendis, iuxta vocationem; interim foris diligenter facere bona opera, et servire vocationi. 29. In his rebus est *vera perfectio et verus cultus Dei*; non est in caelibatu, aut mendicitate, aut veste sordida. Verum populus concipit multas perniciosas opiniones ex illis falsis praeconiis vitae monasticae. 30. Audit sine modo laudari caelibatum: ideo cum offensione conscientiae versatur in coniugio. Audit solos mendicos esse perfectos: ideo cum offensione conscientiae retinet possessiones, negotiatur. Audit consilium evangelicum esse de non vindicando; ideo alii in privata vita non verentur ulcisci: audiunt enim consilium esse non praeceptum. Alii omnes magistratus et civilia officia iudicant indigna esse Christianis.

31. Leguntur exempla hominum, qui deserto coniugio, deserto reipublicae administratione, abdiderunt se in monasteria. Id vocabant fugere ex mundo, et quaerere vitae genus quod Deo magis placeret; nec videbant Deo serviendum esse in illis mandatis quae ipse tradidit, non in mandatis quae sunt excogitata ab hominibus. 32. *Bonum et perfectum vitae genus est quod habet mandatum Dei.* De his rebus necesse est admonere homines. Et ante haec tempora reprehendit Gerson errorem monachorum de perfectione, et testatur suis temporibus novam vocem fuisse quod vita monastica sit status perfectionis.

33. Tam multae impiae opiniones haerent in votis, quod iustificent, quod sint perfectio Christiana, quod servent consilia et praecepta, quod habeant opera supererogationis. Haec omnia quum sint falsa et inania, faciunt vota irrita.

VII. DE POTESTATE ECCLESIASTICA.

Magnae disputationes fuerunt de potestate episcoporum, in quibus nonnulli incommode commiscuerunt potestatem ecclesiasticam et potestatem gladii. Et ex hac confusione maxima, bella, maximi motus exstiterunt, dum Pontifices, freti potestate clavium, non solum novos cultus instituerunt, reservatione casuum, violentis excommunicationibus conscientias oneraverunt, sed etiam regna mundi transferre et imperatoribus adimere imperium conati sunt. 2. Haec vitia multo ante reprehenderunt in ecclesia homines pii et eruditi. Itaque nostri ad consolandas conscientias coacti sunt ostendere *discrimen ecclesiasticae potestatis et potestatis gladii*, et docuerunt utramque propter mandatum Dei religiose venerandam et honorificandam esse, tamquam summa Dei beneficia in terris.

3. Sic autem sentiunt, *potestatem clavium seu potestatem episcoporum* iuxta evangelium potestatem esse seu mandatum Dei praedicandi evangelii, remittendi et retinendi peccata, et administrandi sacramenta. Nam cum hoc mandato Christus mittit Apostolos: *Sicut misit me Pater, ita et ego mitto vos. Accipite Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remisieritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis peccata, retenta sunt.* Marc. xvi: *Ite, praedicate evangelium omni creaturae* etc.

4. Haec potestas tantum exercetur docendo seu praedicando verbum et porrigendo sacramenta, vel multis vel singulis iuxta vocationem, quia conceduntur non res corporales, sed res aeternae: iustitia aeterna, Spiritus Sanctus, vita aeterna. 5. Haec non possunt contingere nisi per ministerium verbi et sacramentorum, sicut Paulus dicit: *Evangelium est potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti.* Itaque quum potestas ecclesiastica concedat res aeternas, et tantum exerceatur per ministerium verbi, non impedit politicam administrationem sicut ars canendi nihil impedit politicam administrationem. 6. Nam politica administratio versatur circa alias res quam evangelium: magistratus defendit non mentes, sed corpora et res corporales adversus manifestas iniurias, et coercet homines gladio et corporalibus poenis, ut iustitiam civilem et pacem retineat.

7. *Non igitur commiscendae sunt potestates ecclesiastica et civilis.* Ecclesiastica suum mandatum habet evangelii docendi et administrandi sacramenta. Non irrumpat in alienum officium, non transferat regna mundi, non abroget leges magistratum, non tollat legitimam obedientiam, non impediat iudicia de ullis civilibus ordinationibus aut contractibus, non praescribat leges magistratibus de forma reipublicae; sicut

dicit Christus: *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*; item: *Quis constituit me iudicem aut divisorem super vos?* 8. Et Paulus ait Philipp. iii: *Nostra politia in coelis est*; 2 Corinth. x: *Arma militiae nostrae non sunt carnalia, sed potentia Dei ad destruendas cogitationes* etc. Ad hunc modum discernunt nostri utriusque potestatis officia, et iubent utramque honore afficere et agnoscere, utramque Dei donum et beneficium esse.

9. Si quam habent episcopi potestatem gladii, hanc non habent episcopi ex mandato evangelii, sed iure humano donatam a regibus et imperatoribus, ad administrationem civilem suorum bonorum. Haec interim alia functio est quam ministerium evangelii.

10. Quum igitur de iurisdictione episcoporum quaeritur, discerni debet imperium ab ecclesiastica iurisdictione. Porro secundum evangelium, seu, ut loquuntur, de iure divino, nulla iurdictio competit episcopis ut episcopis, hoc est, his quibus est commissum ministerium verbi et sacramentorum, remittere peccata, item cognoscere doctrinam, et doctrinam ab evangelio dissentientem reiicere, et impios, quorum nota est impietas, excludere a communione ecclesiae, sine vi humana, sed verbo. 11. Hic necessario et de iure divino debent eis ecclesiae praestare obedientiam, iuxta illud: *Qui vos audit, me audit*.

12. Verum quum aliquid contra evangelium docent aut statuunt, tunc habent ecclesiae mandatum Dei, quod obedientiam prohibet, Matth. vii: *Cavete a pseudoprophetis*. Gal. i: *Si angelus de coelo aliud evangelium evangelizaverit, anathema sit*. 2 Corinth. xiii: *Non possumus aliquid contra veritatem, sed pro veritate*; item: *Data est nobis potestas ad aedificationem, non ad destructionem*. 13. Sic et Canones¹ praecipunt, II. q. VII. Cap. *Sacerdotes* et Cap. *Oves*. Et Augustinus contra Petiliani epistolam inquit: 'Nec Catholicis episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, aut contra canonicas Dei Scripturas aliquid sentiunt.'

14. Si quam habent aliam vel potestatem vel iurisdictionem in cognoscendis certis causis, videlicet matrimonii aut decimarum etc., hanc habent humano iure; ubi cessantibus ordinariis coguntur principes, vel inviti, suis subditis ius dicere, ut pax retineatur.

15. Praeter haec disputatur, utrum episcopi seu pastores habeant ius instituendi ceremonias in ecclesia, et leges de cibis, feriis, gradibus ministrorum seu ordinibus etc. condendi.

¹ Decreti P. II, C. II, Qu. 7, Caps. 8, 13

16. Hoc ius qui tribuunt episcopis, allegant testimonium: *Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis portare modo. Quum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem.* Allegant etiam exemplum Apostolorum, qui prohibuerunt abstinere a sanguine et suffocato. Allegant sabbatum mutatum in diem Dominicum contra decalogum, ut videtur. Nec ullum exemplum magis iactatur quam mutatio sabbati. Magnam contendunt ecclesiae potestatem esse, quod dispensaverit de praecepto decalogi.

17. Sed de hac quaestione nostri sic docent, quod episcopi non habent potestatem statuendi aliquid contra evangelium, ut supra ostensum est. Docent idem Canones IX distinct.¹ Porro contra Scripturam est traditiones condere aut exigere, ut per eam observationem satisfaciamus pro peccatis, aut mereamur gratiam et iustitiam. Laeditur enim gloria meriti Christi, quum talibus observationibus conamur mereri iustificationem. 18. Constat autem propter hanc persuasionem in ecclesia paene in infinitum crevisse traditiones, oppressa interim doctrina de fide et iustitia fidei, quia subinde plures feriae factae sunt, ieiunia indicta, caeremoniae novae, novi honores sanctorum instituti sunt, quia arbitrabantur se auctores talium rerum his operibus mereri gratiam. Sic olim creverunt canones poenitentiales, quorum adhuc in satisfactionibus vestigia quaedam videmus.

19. Item, auctores traditionum faciunt contra mandatum Dei, quum collocant peccatum in cibis, in diebus et similibus rebus, et onerant ecclesiam servitute legis, quasi oporteat apud Christianos ad promerendam iustificationem cultum esse similem Levitico, cuius ordinationem commiserit Deus Apostolis et episcopis; sic enim scribunt quidam. Et videntur Pontifices aliqua ex parte exemplo legis Mosaicae decepti esse. 20. Hinc sunt illa onera, quod peccatum mortale sit, etiam sine offensione aliorum in feriis laborare manibus, quod sit peccatum mortale omittere horas canonicas, quod certi cibi polluant conscientiam, quod ieiunia sint opera placantia Deum, quod peccatum in casu reservato non possit remitti, nisi accesserit auctoritas reservantis, quum quidem ipsi Canones non de reservatione culpa, sed de reservatione poenae ecclesiasticae loquantur.

21. Unde habent ius episcopi has traditiones imponendi ecclesiis ad illaqueandas conscientias, quum Petrus vetet *imponere iugum discipulis*, quum Paulus dicat, *potestatem ipsi*

¹ Decreti P. I, Dist. ix, Cap. 8.

datam esse ad aedificationem, non ad destructionem? Cur igitur augment peccata per has traditiones?

22. Verum exstant clara testimonia, quae prohibent condere tales traditiones ad promerendam gratiam aut tamquam necessarias ad salutem. Paulus Coloss. ii: *Nemo vos iudicet in cibo, potu, parte diei festi, novilunio aut sabbatis* etc. Item: *Si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi, quare tamquam viventes in mundo decreta facitis? Non attingas, non gustes, non contrectes: quae omnia pereunt usu, et sunt mandata et doctrinae hominum, quae habent speciem sapientiae.* Item ad Titum aperte prohibet traditiones: *Non attendentes Iudaicis fabulis et mandatis hominum aversantium veritatem.* 23. Et Christus Matth. xv inquit de his qui exigunt traditiones: *Sinite illos; coeci sunt et duces coecorum;* et improbat tales cultus: *Omnis plantatio, quam non plantavit Pater meus coelestis, eradicabitur.*

24. Si ius habent episcopi onerandi ecclesias infinitis traditionibus et illaqueandi conscientias, cur toties prohibet Scriptura condere et audire traditiones? Cur vocat eas *doctrinas daemioniorum?* Num frustra haec praemonuit Spiritus Sanctus? 25. Relinquitur igitur, quum ordinationes institutae tamquam necessariae, aut cum opinione promerendae gratiae, pugnent cum evangelio, quod non liceat ullis episcopis tales cultus instituere aut exigere. Necesse est enim in ecclesiis retineri doctrinam *de libertate Christiana*, quod non sit necessaria servitus legis ad iustificationem; sicut in Galatis scriptum est: *Nolite iterum iugo servitutis subiaci.* Necesse est retineri *praecipuum evangelii locum*, quod gratiam per fidem in Christum gratis consequamur, non propter certas observationes aut propter cultus ab hominibus institutos.

26. Quid igitur sentiendum est de die Dominico et similibus ritibus templorum? Ad haec respondent, quod liceat episcopis seu pastoribus facere ordinationes, ut res ordine gerantur in ecclesia, non ut per illas mercamur gratiam, aut satisfaciamus pro peccatis, aut obligentur conscientiae, ut iudicent esse necessarios cultus, ac sentiant se peccare, quum sine offensione aliorum violant. Sic Paulus ordinat, *ut in congregatione mulieres velent capita, ut ordine audiantur in ecclesia interpretes* etc.

27. Tales ordinationes convenit ecclesias propter caritatem et tranquillitatem servare eatenus, ne alius alium offendant, ut ordine et sine tumultu omnia fiant in ecclesiis: verum ita, ne conscientiae onerentur, ut ducant res esse necessarias ad salutem, ac iudicent se peccare, quum violant eas sine aliorum

offensione; sicut nemo dixerit peccare mulierem, quae in publicum non velato capite procedit sine offensione hominum.

28. Talis est observatio diei Dominici, Paschatis, Pentecostes et similium feriarum et rituum. Nam qui iudicant ecclesiae auctoritate pro sabbato institutam esse diei Dominici observationem tamquam necessariam, longe errant. 29. Scriptura abrogavit sabbatum, quae docet omnes ceremonias Mosai-
cas post revelatum evangelium omitti posse. Et tamen quia opus erat constituere certum diem, ut sciret populus quando convenire deberet, apparet ecclesiam ei rei destinasse diem Dominicum, qui ob hanc quoque causam videtur magis placuisse, ut haberent homines exemplum Christianae libertatis, et scirent nec sabbati nec alterius diei observationem necessariam esse.

30. Exstant prodigiosae disputationes de mutatione legis, de ceremoniis novae legis, de mutatione sabbati, quae omnes ortae sunt ex falsa persuasionem, quod oporteat in ecclesia cultum esse similem Levitico; et quod Christus commiserit Apostolis et episcopis excogitare novas ceremonias, quae sint ad salutem necessariae. 31. Hi errores serpsere in ecclesiam, quum iustitia fidei non satis clare doceretur. Aliqui disputant diei Dominici observationem non quidem iuris divini esse, sed quasi iuris divini; praescribunt de feriis, quatenus liceat operari. Huiusmodi disputationes quid sunt aliud nisi laquei conscientiarum? 32. Quamquam enim conentur epiikizare traditiones, tamen nunquam potest aequitas deprehendi, donec manet opinio necessitatis, quam manere necesse est, ubi ignorantur *iustitia fidei et libertas Christiana*.

33. Apostoli iusserunt abstinere a sanguine. Quis nunc observat? Neque tamen peccant, qui non observant, quia ne ipsi quidem Apostoli voluerunt onerare conscientias tali servitute, sed ad tempus prohibuerunt propter scandalum. Est enim perpetua voluntas evangelii considerata in decreto. 34. Vix ulli Canones servantur accurate; et multi quotidie exolescunt apud illos etiam qui diligentissime defendunt traditiones. Nec potest conscientia consuli, nisi haec aequitas servetur, ut sciamus eos sine opinione necessitatis servari, nec laedi conscientias, etiamsi traditiones exolescant.

35. Facile autem possent episcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere, si non urgerent servare traditiones, quae bona conscientia servari non possunt. Nunc imperant caelibatum; nullos recipiunt, nisi iurent se puram evangelii doctrinam nolle docere. 36. Non petunt ecclesiae ut episcopi honoris

sui iactura sarciant concordiam, quod tamen decebat bonos pastores facere. Tantum petunt ut iniusta onera remittant, quae nova sunt et praeter consuetudinem ecclesiae Catholicae recepta. 37. Fortassis initio quaedam constitutiones habuerunt probabiles causas, quae tamen posterioribus temporibus non congruunt. 38. Apparet etiam quasdam errore receptas esse. Quare Pontificiae clementiae esset, illas nunc mitigare, quia talis mutatio non labefacit ecclesiae unitatem. Multae enim traditiones humanae tempore mutatae sunt, ut ostendunt ipsi Canones. 39. Quod si non potest impetrari ut relaxentur observationes quae sine peccato non possunt praestari, oportet nos regulam Apostolicam sequi, quae praecipit, *Deo magis obedire quam hominibus*. Petrus *velat episcopos dominari et ecclesiis imperare*. 40. Nunc non id agitur ut dominatio eripatur episcopis, sed hoc unum petitur, ut patiantur evangelium pure doceri, et relaxent paucas quasdam observationes, quae sine peccato servari non possunt. Quod si nihil remiserint, ipsi viderint quomodo Deo rationem reddituri sint, quod pertinacia sua causam schismati praebeant.

EPILOGUS.

Hi sunt *praecipui articuli qui videntur habere controversiam*. Quamquam enim de pluribus abusibus dici poterat, tamen, ut fugeremus prolixitatem, praecipua complexi sumus, ex quibus cetera facile iudicari possunt. 2. Magnae querelae fuerunt de indulgentiis, de peregrinationibus, de abusu excommunicationis. Parochiae multipliciter vexabantur per stationarios. Infinitae contentiones erant pastoribus cum monachis de iure parochiali, de confessionibus, de sepulturis, de extraordinariis concionibus, et de aliis innumerabilibus rebus. 3. Huiusmodi negotia praetermisimus, ut illa, quae sunt in hac causa *praecipua*, breviter proposita facilius cognosci possent. 4. Neque hic quidquam ad ullius contumeliam dictum aut collectum est. Tantum ea recitata sunt, quae videbantur necessario dicenda esse, ut intelligi possit in doctrina ac ceremoniis apud nos nihil esse receptum contra Scripturam aut ecclesiam Catholicam, quia manifestum est nos diligentissime cavisse, ne quae nova et impia dogmata in ecclesias nostras serperent.

5. Hos articulos supra scriptos volumus exhibere iuxta edictum C. M., in quibus confessio nostra exstaret, et eorum, qui apud nos docent, doctrinae summa cerneretur. 6. Si

quid in hac confessione desiderabitur, parati sumus latiore
informationem, Deo volente, iuxta Scripturas exhibere.

Caesarae Maiest. Vestrae

Fideles et subditi :

IOANNES DUX SAXONIAE ELECTOR.

GEORGIUS MARCHIO BRANDENBURGENSIS.

ERNESTUS DUX LUNEBURGENSIS.

PHILIPPUS LANDGRAVIUS HESSORUM.

IOANNES FRIDERICUS DUX SAXONIAE.

FRANCISCUS DUX LUNEBURGENSIS.

VOLFGANGUS PRINCEPS AB ANHALT.

SENATUS MAGISTRATUSQUE NURNBERGENSIS.

SENATUS REUTLINGENSIS.

No. 117. The representations of the Legate, July 1530.

Most Invincible, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty ! Although I am sure that it is unnecessary for me to state my opinion to your Catholic Majesty in the reply to be given to the proposition made by certain illustrious princes regarding the matters of the faith and our holy religion, seeing that by your singular wisdom and by your exceptional judgement, in addition to the faithful and excellent counsels of many of the illustrious Prince-Electors and other Princes and Lords, you can without me supply what is needed ; yet, at your Highness' command, at the wish also of the aforesaid illustrious Princes, and since it is, moreover, not incompatible with my duty through the office I hold, I will with all respect say what I think, subject, however, to the correction of Your Majesty and of any other who holds a better and sounder opinion.

In the first place, I say that in order to facilitate this business it will be very much to the point if your Catholic Majesty with your very great authority, and then with the help of such Catholic Princes as shall seem best to you, should with every care try and strive to bring into the right and Catholic road some of these Princes, even if you cannot bring all who have subscribed to these articles and propositions ; and also some of the imperial Cities, which indeed, as your Serene Highness will see in the reply which will be given to you, being desirous of persevering in the assertion of the said articles proposed, have strayed far and entirely from the truth and the sincere faith of Christ.

In the second place, there being in this city about twenty most excellent doctors and theologians of holy, good, and exemplary life, Your Highness can have them summoned or, if it be your pleasure, I will undertake the task of calling them and giving them the articles proposed which we would have them with all care read and study; and, after they have exercised all prudence, moderation, and Christian charity, let them, as soon as they can, proceed in the manner set forth below—that is to say, let them first extract the heads and assertions contained in the said articles or propositions, and not only those which are expressed and are openly called propositions but also those which are surreptitiously comprised therein.

Then, all such as are Catholic and well founded on the Gospel, sacred Scripture, and doctrine of the holy doctors, and are approved by the holy Church, if such there be—let them be pleased to accept, praise, and approve: but such as shall be found to be heretical, false, seditious, disorderly, erroneous, scandalous, and offensive to pious Catholic ears, let them demolish, destroy, and totally annihilate, after having first shown them whence they have derived their assertions, and how in former times they were put forth by other heretics, diligently examined by the holy Councils, and finally justly condemned and burnt together with the same heretics, in order that every one should understand and know that there was to be no more disputing or gainsaying or reviving of doubt about that which so justly, with excellent reasons and true understanding of the holy Scripture, had been reprobated and condemned. Which thing can only be done with the greatest danger, as Saint Maximus, the bishop, says in one of his sermons:—‘*Noverimus itaque quia non sine magno discrimine de religionis veritate disputamus, quam tantorum sanguine confirmatam videmus. Magni periculi res est si post prophetarum oracula, post apostolorum testimonia, post martyrum vulnera, veterem fidem quasi novellam discutere praesumas, et post tam manifestos duces in errore permanes, et post morientium sudores otiosa disputatione contendas.*’¹ The Imperial Law also declares the same thing:—‘*Nemo: c. de summa Trinitate et fide Catholica*; *Nemo clericus vel militans vel alterius cuiuslibet conditionis de fide Christiana publice turbis coadunatis et audientibus tractare conetur in posterum, ex hoc tumultus et perfidiae occasionem requirens. Nam et iniuriam facit iudicio reverendissimae Synodi, si quis semel iudicata ac recte disposita revolvere ac publice disputare contendit, cum*

¹ Maximus of Turin [? 415–† 466], Sermo lxxxviii (Migne, *P. L.* lviii. 707 c).

ea quae nunc de Christiana fide a sacerdotibus qui Chalcedone convenerunt per nostra praecepta statuta sunt, iuxta apostolicas expositiones et instituta sanctorum patrum trecentorum decem et octo et centum quinquaginta, in hac regia Urbe definita esse noscuntur. Nam in contemptores huius legis poena non deerit, quia non solum contra fidem vere expositam veniunt, sed etiam Iudaeis et paganis ex huiusmodi certamine profanant veneranda mysteria. Igitur si clericus erit qui publice tractare de religione ausus fuerit, a consortio clericorum removebitur; si vero militia praeditus sit, cingulo spoliabitur: ceteri etiam huiusmodi criminis rei, siquidem liberi sint, de hac sacratissima Urbe expellentur pro vigore iudiciario etiam competentibus suppliciis subiugandi; sin vero servi, severissimis animadversionibus plectentur.¹

And inasmuch as in the aforesaid articles and propositions it is stated that their preachers have neither preached, nor said, nor written, many things which are attributed to them—which, however, is false—it is, in my opinion, advisable that the above-mentioned doctors and theologians should note the places where they have said, taught, and preached the contrary, and the many contradictions and scandals disseminated in the Church of Christ, to the destruction of quiet, peace, and holy religion; and, for better satisfaction, let their authorities be adduced by our people, and let them show the true sense and meaning which, with their erudition, will be an easy matter. Furthermore, it would appear to me necessary for the clearer elucidation of the truth that the aforesaid doctors should propound and set forth as against their heretical, false, seditious, disorderly, erroneous, and scandalous articles, the true articles and propositions—such as may be suited and attuned to the pious ears of Catholics; and should confirm and stablish them by holy Scripture and the authority of holy doctors approved by the Church.

When the said things shall have been drawn up in due and full form, as well in German as in Latin even as was done by them, I think that the whole should be presented to your Catholic Majesty, who, if it seem good to you, will be able to summon all the Catholic Princes and, with their counsel and consent, deliberate whether to convoke the whole Diet and let these things be publicly read and understood by all.

And since, O Sacred Majesty, after the reading of the afore-

¹ Codex Iustiniani, Lib. I, Tit. i, Lex 4 (*Corp. Iur. Civ.* ii. 6, edd. Mommsen and Krüger). The Law is Marcian's Edict of 452, after the Council of Chalcedon, Mansi, vii. 475.

said Catholic and true propositions and articles, it may very easily happen that they should ask for a copy, and time in which to answer, it would be well first to consult and deliberate with the aforesaid Catholic Christian Princes as to what should be done and what course should be followed in that case. And, although I do not doubt that your Highness and the illustrious Princes would adopt the best course and measures, yet with all due reverence, and subject to your correction, I will state my opinion. Your Highness must be aware that it was, and always will be, in the nature of heretics to be obstinate and hard, never willing to give way or consent to reason, nor to any authority, however clear and approved. This I am convinced will be the same with these, from the protestation they make and propound at the beginning. For though they try to cover it up and soften it down with fine words, yet it seems to me to say nothing else in the end than that, if the matter is not settled to their liking, they mean to persist in their opinion and in their appeal to a future Council—not because they are to be determined, either as regards belief or giving way, by any Council; but that they may be able to persist in their wrong opinions and evade the coming of Your Highness for their great good, and in this way (which God avert) reduce all Germany to their perverse opinions, fill it with tumults and seditions, as they have done up to now, and so be able also to contaminate the rest of Christendom.

Wherefore I should think that your Highness and the Catholic Princes should consider together the two cases which I will now state. The first is that, if they should accept and approve the Christian assertions and such things as shall be ruled by the aforesaid doctors and theologians (which I do not believe, and would to God I might be wrong); in this case let them consult and deliberate as to the ways and means to be observed and followed, and how matters should be brought to a conclusion so that men may live in a Christian way and in the truth of the Faith—which, if God grant us this grace, it will then be easy to consult and deliberate upon.

The second is that of their not consenting to or accepting the sound counsel and doctrine which shall be shown them (which I greatly fear), but rather obstinately insisting upon wishing to reply, and in these disputations and vain controversies prolonging matters with a wish never to end them, as I am sure they intend to do. In this case let your Majesty be well advised not to consent to it, nor, on this point, to promise or concede to them anything whatever, because you would

then enter into a labyrinth from which you could never emerge any more, and so they would have gained their will : which is, by such means, to spin the matter out so that the Diet which, owing to the very great expense, cannot last very long, may come to an end with the matter still not settled. But let your Catholic Majesty with your illustrious Princes and good and true Christians, after having established a complete understanding and confederation, prepare to decide thoroughly to extirpate these heresies, proceeding against them with order and system by means of reason and justice, using you your temporal arms and I the spiritual, and thus zealously punish them as is right ; which, with the help of God, will be easy for you. And in this glorious, holy, and very truly Catholic undertaking, your Serene Highness would show yourself to all the world to be as in name so in deeds, as I told you before, the true and undoubted successor of that Charles the Great amongst whose other greatest undertakings there still resounds the fame of the conquest he made of the Saxons, whereby was then established the holy and Catholic Christian Faith. And Your Serenity may be sure that, this enterprise having been dispatched, if you wish shortly to take the field—as, I think, you will wish it because you ought to wish it on account of the very high position and office you hold—an ample, quick, and broad way will be made to victories against the Turk, and against all such as may wish or presume to oppose your holy and virtuous works.

As for the abuses and disorders, once the affair of the Faith is settled as was said above, it will then be the right time for Your Majesty to try and contrive that all should return to the true path and way, and become true and Catholic Christians, in which I also, as long as my strength lasts, promise not to fail as to the duty of my office and the place I hold. Nothing else occurs to me but once more to submit all I have said to the most wise counsel and judgement of your Majesty, to whom I humbly commend myself.

Your humble servant,

CAR. CAMPEGIUS LEGATUS.

No. 118. Melanchthon's Concessions, 28 July, 1530.

[Campegio Cardinali].—S. D. Principes nostri miserunt nos ad R. D. V. cum his mandatis qui rogemus ut R. D. V. pro sua humanitate non gravetur audire. Principes nostri intellexerunt R. D. V. summa equitate atque moderatione violenta consilia

improbare et auctorem esse retinendae pacis. Quae res, ut est dignissima sapientia et dignitate R. D. V., ita nostris principibus magnopere grata est, qui non solum propter suam sed multo magis propter publica pericula pacis valde cupidi sunt. Vident enim, si quis motus exoriretur, periculum esse ne maior confusio religionum et ecclesiae accidat. Itaque petunt ut R. D. V. non patiat se deduci ab hac moderatione summa, sed operam det ut pax retineatur quae tali tempore videtur utilis universae reipublicae, praesertim cum nullos articulos doceri [patiantur] discedentes a Scripturis et ecclesia catholica. Ipsi vicissim suum officium privatim R. D. V. deferunt, et publice pollicentur se, quantum sine offensione conscientiae fieri possit, eas conditiones accepturos esse quas ad pacem et concordiam et ad ecclesiastici ordinis auctoritatem retinendam, confirmandam et stabiliendam, iudicabitur pertinere. Et hoc confirmant se nihil minus velle quam ut ecclesiasticus ordo et legitima auctoritas episcoporum labefactetur.

No. 119. The Fifth Session, 3 August, 1530.

On the third day of August . . . in the afternoon His Imperial Majesty assembled all the Estates of the Empire, and the Confutation of the Protestant Confession was read, as follows :—

Principio autem Caesar Carolus per Fridericum Palatinum exposuit se diu multumque deliberasse de Confessionis Saxonicae doctrina, mandasse quoque viris aliquot honestis et eruditis¹ ut iudicium facerent, quid pie sit in ea, quid aliene dictum ab ecclesiae consensu ; fecisse hoc illos, et sententiam alio scripto demonstrasse, quod et ipse probet.

Deinde recitata fuit Confessionis Confutatio, a theologis adversariis conscripta, cuius hic erat ordo. Scriptum Saxonicum in duas partes diviserant. Prior habet 21 doctrinae capita. Ex iis alia receperant, alia reiecerant, quaedam partim fuerant admissa, partim repudiata, multis patrum et conciliorum adductis testimoniis. In reiectis haec erant : Opera bona nihil mereri. Iustificationem tribui soli fidei, non etiam operibus. Ecclesiam esse congregationem piorum. Non posse satisfieri pro peccatis. Divos non intercedere pro nobis. Alia receperant cum modo, de ceremoniis nimirum. Item : Verum corpus atque sanguinem Christi esse in sacramento, sic, ut sub qualibet specie sit Christus et vinum atque panis omnino mutentur. Illud de confessione sic admittebant, si populus

¹ Among them Eck 1486-†1543, Faber c. 1500-†1561, and Cochlaeus 1479-†1552.

astringeretur, ut quotannis ad pascha confiteantur, et delicta omnia diligenter enumerent, et Coenam Domini percipiant, et septem esse credant sacramenta. Cavebant etiam ne quis erudiendo populo praeficiatur, nisi de voluntate et permissu episcoporum. Ad haec, ut leges omnes et ecclesiae praecepta sentiantur et quibus in locis abrogatae sint restituantur.

Altera pars quinque praecipue complectitur. Communio Coenae Domini sub utraque specie, quod aiunt, reiicitur. Et petebat Caesar, ut in eo totius orbis Christiani consensum atque morem sequantur. De coniugio sacerdotum mirari se dicebat hoc ab ipsis peti, cum inde ab apostolorum aetate non fuerit in usu. Prorsus igitur concedi non posse. Missa recipitur ipsorum, modo cum ritu ecclesiae Romanae conveniat. Si vero mutata sit, reiicitur, ac simul affirmatur Missam esse sacrificium pro vivis et mortuis, neque debere Missam privatam abrogari. Daniele multo ante praenuntiasset fore, cum antichristus venerit, ut sacrificium aboleatur. Hoc quidem nondum accidisse, verum tamen iis in locis, ubi Missa iacet, altaria destruantur, exuruntur statuae, quibus in templis nihil cantatur, nihil legitur, nulla lucent amplius luminaria, ibi nimirum illud iam repraesentari prophetae vaticinium. Itaque cavendum esse diligenter omnibus ne causam praebeant adventus antichristi. Vota monastica nisi tam Novi quam Testamenti Veteris auctoritate. Plectendos igitur qui, suae confessionis obliiti, deseruerunt ordinem. Episcopos habere potestatem non docendi tantum, sed et administrandi rempublicam, nec in suo iure impediendos esse, quod liberalitate maiorum sint consecuti: non abstinere a carnibus tempore prohibito, non ieiunare per quadragesimae tempus, non confiteri peccata, proterviam esse, non libertatem Christianam.

His ita recitatis fatentur non esse nulla quae requirant emendationem, ut etiam haec sanentur et ecclesiae status corrigatur, omnem suam operam Caesar pollicetur et omnino se sperare dicit, quandoquidem de multis inter ipsos conveniat, fore ut ad ecclesiae sinum redeant protestantes, eique sese permittant. Quod quidem si faciant, nihil esse quod ab ipso non debeant expectari. Sin autem, tum sibi necessario faciendum esse ut Ecclesiae tutorem ac defensorem deceat. . . .

No. 120. Eck's Articulus de Missa, 21 August, 1530.

Petierunt Catholici ut tam publicae quam privatae Missae celebrentur super altari, cum inclusione utriusque canonis,

non tantum minoris sed et maioris, sicut hactenus in tota catholica observatum est ecclesia. Et ne verbalis oriretur contentio super his verbis 'oblatio', 'hostia', 'sacrificium', hanc adiunxerunt distinctionem triplicis oblationis: nempe quod Christus oblatus est in agno paschali Veteris Testamenti figuraliter seu typice; in cruce autem passibiliter, ubi se ipsum obtulit Deo Patri pro peccatis nostris; porro in Missa quotidie offertur mysterialiter et representative memoria suae passionis et oblationis in cruce semel factae. Est ergo Missa non cruenta victima sed mysterialis et representativa.

**No. 121. Luther's letter from Coburg,
26 Aug. 1530.**

... De obedientia Episcopis reddenda et iurisdictione ac ceremoniis communibus, ut scribis, take good care and give no more than you have, ne cogamur denuo ad difficilius et periculosius bellum pro Evangelio defendendo. Scio vos Evangelium semper excipere in istis pactis: sed metuo ne postea perfidos aut inconstantes insimulent, si non servemus quae voluerint. Ipsi enim nostras concessionem large, largius, largissime accipient, suas vero stricte, strictius, strictissime dabunt.

Summa mihi in totum displicet tractatus de doctrinae concordia, ut quae plane sit impossibilis, nisi Papa velit papatum suum abolere. Satis erat nos reddidisse rationem fidei, et petere pacem: convertere eos ad veritatem quare speramus? Nos venimus audituri an nostra probent necne, liberum illis permittentes manere quales sunt. Et quaerimus an damnent vel iustificent? Si damnant, quid prodest cum hostibus concordiam velle tentare: si iustificant, quid opus est veteres abusus velle retinere? Cum vero certum sit damnari ab ipsis nostra, eo quod nec poeniteant et sua retinere contentur: cur non intelligimus omnia esse fucum et mendacium, quaecunque tentant? Neque enim dicere potes e Spiritu Sancto manare ista eorum studia, in quibus nihil poenitentiae, nihil fidei, nihil pietatis est. Sed Dominus, qui coepit in vobis, perficiet opus suum: cui vos commendo ex animo.

No. 122. Imperial announcement, 7 Sept. 1530.

Itidem Caesar omnes Principes et Ordines pontificios domum suam convocat circa meridiem; duabus deinde post horis Saxonem atque socios, et remotis omnibus aliis adhibitoque Ferdinando fratre, episcopo Constantiensi,¹ Hispalensi,² Gran-

¹ Hugo, Bishop of Constance, 1496-†1532.

² Alonso, Archbishop of Seville, 1524-†1538.

vellano,¹ Truccessio,² per Fredericum Palatinum³ in hanc sententiam verba facit :—

Omnino sperasse futurum ut tam amanter atque benigne a se commonefacti post exhibitam Confessionem ad suas partes transirent, et quamquam id frustra sperarit tamen, cum intercederent principes, assensisse ut ex omni numero quidam deligerentur conciliationis causa, et rursus in novam spem venisse futurae concordiae; nunc autem non sine gravi molestia cognoscere ipsos a reliquis dissentire in praecipuis dogmatis, quod plane sibi praeter expectationem acciderit; nec enim existimasse fore ut ipsi, qui sunt numero pauci, res novas introducerent contra vetustum et sacrosanctum totius Ecclesiae morem, aut singulare aliquod doctrinae genus usurparent, a Pontificis, a suo, a Ferdinandi Regis, ab omnium Imperii Principum et Ordinum, a totius orbis regum atque maiorum instituto alienum. Iam vero quia et concilium cogi et decretum hic fieri pacificum petant, se, qui pacem imprimis optet, effecturum apud Pontificem et reliquos orbis Christiani Principes ut, ubi primum convenierit de loco, concilium denuncietur, hoc se recipere ipsis atque confirmare, verum ea lege tamen ut interim eandem, quam ipse, quam alii quoque principes, religionem sequantur. Nam ut concilium cogat, et nihilominus rem ita fluctuare sinat neque novationem istam coerceat, quis non videat quam id sibi reliquisque futurum sit grave?

Illi vero cum deliberassent, nullam se novam sectam instituisse, neque secessionem ab ecclesia Christiana fecisse dicunt. Quod concilium non recuset, agere permagnas gratias, et petere ut primo quoque tempore pium atque liberum in Germania cogatur, uti proximo et superiori conventu Spiraec decretum sit. Ut autem abolitos ecclesiae Romanae ritus atque dogmata recipiant, non se posse bona cum conscientia.

Caesar a multa consultatione, per Truccesium, actionem omnem sibi lectam esse diligenter et perlustratam, et reperire ait, permultum ipsos ab ecclesia Christiana dissidere, mirari etiam delectorum lenitatem qui tam multa concesserint, ipsorum vero duritiem qui non acceperint oblata. Quod autem ex decretis Imperii concilium petant, non habere locum nec ipsis licere, qui postremum illud Spirense decretum repudiarent contraque sunt protestati et ab eo provocarint: quam tamen

¹ Nicolas de Granvelle, 1486-1550; Chancellor, 1530.

² George

Truchsess, 1488-1531.

³ Frederick II, Elector Palatine, 1544-1566.

appellationem habeat pro nulla. Nam aequum esse ut minor pars accomodet sese maiori; quantula vero sint ipsi portio, si cum Pontifice Maximo, si secum, si cum aliquo Principum coetu componantur. Itaque petere ut exponant num ampliorem actionem ferre possint: nec enim ulli suo labori vel molestiae se velle parcere, quo tandem ad concordiam aditus fiat. Quod si autem recusent actionem, nec a proposito recedant, tum sibi faciendum esse, quemadmodum Ecclesiae Protectorem deceat, et quia multus iam sit vesper, cogitandi spatium se ipsis largiri in diem crastinum.

No. 123. The Recess, 22 Sept. 1530.

(1) Postquam Caesarea Maiestas communem conventum Ordinum Imperii ad diem octavum Aprilis elapsam, in hac urbe Augusta indixit, ut de totius Imperii et Orbis Christiani ac Theutonicae Nationis negotiis et imprimis de dissensionibus in sancta fide et religione Christiana pie componendis agi et decerni posset et deberet, ac ut omnia commoda via et salutari ratione administrarentur, de dissensionibus in causa sanctae religionis et Christianae fidei componendis ageretur, et in hac causa religionis erroribus praeteritis Christo condonatis partium opiniones ac sententiae inter se, in caritate, lenitate et mansuetudine mutua audirentur coram, intelligerentur et ponderarentur, ac, illis quae utrinque in scripturis secus tractata aut intellecta sunt sepositis et correctis, res illae ad unam simplicem veritatem et Christianam concordiam componerentur ac reducerentur, et de cactero a nobis una sincera et vera religio coleretur et servaretur ut, quemadmodum sub uno Christo sumus et militamus, ita in una etiam Ecclesia Christiana, in unitate et concordia vivere possemus, ac pax et tranquillitas per omnes Imperii fines in his et aliis negotiis decerneretur, constitueretur atque conservaretur, quarum rerum ut et aliarum omnium Caesarcae Maiestatis litterae indictionis prolixiorum faciunt mentionem.

(2) In quibus comitiis Caes. Maiestas, Electores, Principes et alii Imperii Ordines agminatim comparuerunt: hocque facto, C. M. cum praedictis Electoribus, Principibus, Praelatis, Comitibus, Imperii Ordinibus et absentium Legatis, omnia puncta et articulos in litteris indictionis comprehensos, praecipue vero articulum de erroribus et dissensionibus, in nostra sancta fide et Christiana religione tollendis et componendis diligenter tractandum suscepit, ac iuxta easdem indictionis

litteras unicuique qui de erroribus fidei aliquid in medium adducere vellet, nominatim vero Electori Saxoniae, Georgio Marchioni Brandenburgico, Ernesto atque Francisco fratribus et Ducibus Luneburgensibus, Philippo Hassorum Landgravio, Guolphango Ascaniae¹ Principi, et Noribergae, Rutelingiae, Campadoni, Hailbronnae, Winshemii et Weisseburgi civitatum² Legatis, mandavit ut opinionem et confessionem suam scripto comprehensam offerrent, eamque oblatam et praesentibus omnibus Electoribus atque Imperii Ordinibus praelectam audivit, et re diu multumque deliberata, postea firmis sacrae Scripturae testimoniis refutavit, ac multo tam suo quam reliquorum Ordinum labore rem eo deduxit ut primo quatuordecim utrinque ex Principibus et aliis, deinde vero sex personae delectae de concordia et pace constituenda agerent: quae etiam multa actione et magna diligentia effecerunt, ut in quibusdam fidei articulis cum reliquis Electoribus, Principibus et Sacri Imperii Ordinibus Protestantes convenirent, in quibusdam vero a Caes. Maestate et communibus ordinibus diversum sentirent.

(3) Ut autem C. M. demonstret et ostendat, quam nihil impotenter cupide aut pro sua libidine gerat faciatque, et quam sit amans publicae pacis et tranquillitatis praecipue per Germaniam constituendae, singulari quadam benignitate atque clementia Electori Saxoniae, quinque Principibus et sex Civitatibus ad decimum quintum usque diem futuri mensis Aprilis deliberandi spatium largitur ut interea reputent secum atque statuunt num in iis dogmatis quae reliqua sunt, idem quod Pontifex, quod ipse et alii Electores Principes et Imperii Ordines ac quod universus denique Orbis Christianus, ad usque Concilii tempus, profiteri velint necne. Interea temporis C. M. quoque deliberabit quid sibi in hac causa agendum et statuendum sit. Intra decimum vero et quintum Aprilis diem Elector Saxoniae, quinque Principes et sex Civitates, quid suae mentis et sententiae hac de re sit, C. M.³ litteris sigillo suo signatis significent: id quod C. M. etiam est factura.

(4) Imperatoria Maestas etiam vult atque serio praecipit ut interea pacem per Imperium colant omnes, ne Saxo sociique novi quid de religione suis in Principatibus, Dioecesisibus et ditionibus typis procudi, venale haberi aut vendi patiantur, ne vel ipsi vel eorum subditi quenquam ad suam religionem³, ut haecenus factum est, cogant pelliciantque, ne veterem religionem

¹ Anhalt.

² Nürnberg, Reutlingen, Kempten, Heilbronn, Windheim, Weissenburg.

³ Germ., sect.

sequentes, cuiuscunque dignitatis et ordinis sint, quominus id faciant, ulla ratione prohibeant, nec denique monasticis utriusque generis personis, quominus et sacra peragant et delictorum audiant confessionem, et Coenam Domini suo more administrent, ullum facessant negotium.

(5) Ad hoc ut praedictus Saxoniae Elector, quinque Principes et sex Civitates cum C. M., Electoribus, Principibus et S. I. Ordinibus deliberent quomodo coercendi et puniendi sunt Anabaptistae et ii, qui de Coena Domini secus quam Ecclesia docent,¹ nec in hac causa se a C. M. aliisque Electoribus et Ordinibus seiungant aut segregent, aut suo quoque consilio rem iuvent atque promoveant, id quod auctoritate C. Mtis omnibus Electoribus, Principibus et Imperii Ordinibus permissum, ut supra dictum est, et promissum fuit in tantum quantum iuris et potestatis ea in re quilibet habet.

(6) Postremo quia multo in tempore in Ecclesia nullum generale Christianum et liberum habitum est concilium, et vero tam in hoc civili quam in ecclesiastico statu multi abusus aliaque onera irrepserunt, quae emendationem requirunt, C. M. de reformandis ecclesiis et tollendis corruptelis cum Pontifice deliberavit, ac de consilio omnium Electorum, Principum atque Ordinum in Comitibus Augustanis congregatorum decrevit, apud praedictum Pontificem, Christianos Reges et alios Dynastas operam dare ut generale et liberum Concilium intra semestre tempus post finem Comitiorum in loco idoneo denunciatur, et intra annum spatium, post datas indictionis litteras, inchoetur, indubitata spe illud unicum fore remedium per quod Christianae societati tam in ecclesiasticis et spiritualibus quam in politicis et civilibus negotiis publica pax atque tranquillitas restitui et conservari possit.

XXXV

PROTESTANTS IN ARMS

The Emperor published the Recess of Augsburg 19 Nov. 1530; and the Protestants had now to face its threats not only of coercion by force of arms after 15 April 1531, but of proceedings to be taken against them in the Imperial Chamber (Ranke, *Ref.* 631). They had also to fear the election of Ferdinand as King of the Romans. To this the Elector John and other princes assembled at Schmalkalden, Christmas 1530, objected. But Ferdinand was elected, 5 Jan. 1531. At a second meeting, 27 Feb., they formally concluded [No. 124] the *Schmalkaldic League* (Winckelmann,

¹ The Swiss. or 'Sacramentaries'.

Politische Correspondenz der Stadt Strassburg, ii. 17 sqq.). Its importance lay less in the number of its adherents than in their differences of rank, belief, and geographical situation. Princes combined with cities, Lutheran with Zwinglian, north with south, in defence of a common cause. The combination was aided by the death of Zwingli, 11 Oct. 1531, which set Upper Germany free for alliance with Lower. In December, at Frankfurt, the League received a constitution, with the Elector and the Landgrave as its chiefs; in April 1532, at Schweinfurt, a completed organization. Germany had now 'another centre besides the diets' (Ranke *Ref.* 675), and the League soon became an *imperium in imperio*.

No. 124. The Schmalkaldic League, 27 Feb. 1531.

We, John, by the grace of God, Archmarshal and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire and John Frederick, father and son, Dukes of Saxony &c.; Philip¹, Otto², and the brothers Ernest³ and Francis⁴, all Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, &c.; Wolfgang³, Prince of Anhalt, &c.; the brothers⁴ Gebhard and Albert, Counts of Mansfeld; and the Burgomaster and Council of the undermentioned cities of Upper Germany, Saxony, and the Sea, viz., Strassburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isny, Lübeck, Magdeburg and Bremen, do all men to wit:—

Whereas it is altogether likely that those who have the pure Word of God preached in their territory, and thereby have abolished many abuses, are to be prevented by force from continuing this service so pleasing to God;

And whereas it is the duty of every Christian government not only to have the Word of God preached to its subjects but also, as far as possible, to prevent their being compelled to fall away from it;

Now we, solely for the sake of our own defence and deliverance, which both by human and divine right is permitted to every one, have agreed that whenever any one of us is attacked on account of the Word of God and the doctrine of the Gospel, or anything connected therewith, all the others shall immediately come to his assistance, as best they can, and help to deliver him. . . .

¹ Philip I, Duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, 1486–†1551.

² Otto I, 1527–†49; Ernest, †1546; Francis, 1539–†49; Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

³ Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt-Köthen, 1508–62 (†1566).

⁴ Gebhard VII, 1486–†1558; Albert VII, 1486–†1560.

XXXVI
A TRUCE .

By the League of Schmalkalden the Protestants were now in a position to treat with the Emperor on equal terms. They were further strengthened by a fresh advance of the Turk : for Suleiman set out westward, 26 April 1532. He was in full retreat by September (Ranke, *Ref.* 689 sqq.). But, meanwhile, the danger was such that a truce was necessary between the Emperor and the Protestants. It was known as, 23 July 1532, [No. 125] the Peace of Nürnberg (*Goldasti Const. Imp.* ii. 172).

No. 125. The Peace of Nürnberg, 23 July, 1532.

Dei gratia nos Albertus S. R. E., tituli S. Petri ad vincula, Presbyter Cardinalis, Legatus natus, Moguntinus ac Magdeburgensis Archiepiscopus, Archicancellarius et Primas per Germaniam, Administrator Halberstadensis, Margravius Brandenburgensis, &c.; et Ludovicus¹ Palatinus Rheni, Dux Bavariae, S. R. I. Archidapifer, ambo Electores, fatemur et publice testatum facimus hisce literis.

Cum inter invictissimum Principem et Dominum, D. Carolum Romanum Imperatorem semper Augustum &c., dominum nostrum clementissimum ex una parte, et illustrissimos Principes, nostros caros agnatos et consanguineos, D. Ioannem Ducem Saxoniae Electorem &c. et Ioannem Fridericum eius filium; D. Georgium Margravium Brandenburgensem; D. Philippum, Ernestum et Franciscum, fratres et agnatos, Duces Brunsvicensis; Principem Wolfgangum ad Anhalt; Gebhardum et Albertum, Comites in Mansfelt; et civitates Argentinam, Norimbergam, Constantiam, Ulmam, Bibrachium, Isnam, Reutlingam, Eslingiam, Memmingam, Lindam, Hailbrun, Hallim Suevorum, Kempten, Weissenburgum, Winshemiam, Lubecam, Brunsvigiam, Magdeburgam, Bremam, Goslarium, Einbecam, Gottingiam, Northusiam et Hamburgam ex altera parte, propter causam religionis controversia extiterit: cuius rei gratia in Comitibus Imperialibus antea habitis multae et variae deliberationes susceptae et tentatae sunt, ut istiusmodi controversia et disceptatio ad aliquam aequam concordiam redigeretur, quod quidem hactenus fieri non potuit. Nosque pro conservanda pace et concordia publica in Imperio et praecipue ut communi Christiani nominis hosti, Turcae videlicet, eo melius et acrius resisteret, eiusque crudelissimi conatus adversus Christianum sanguinem et imprimis Germanicae nationis sus-

¹ Ludwig V, Elector Palatine 1508-†44.

cepti, averti possint, fidelissimo et optimo animo ac consilio, partes nostras interponendas putavimus. Ac permissu Caesareae Maiestatis nobisque eius rei gratia concessi mandati instructionis et commissionis, et de praedictorum nostrorum consanguineorum ac agnatorum eorumque coniunctorum consensu, primum Svinfordiae, postea hic Norinbergae, varias amicabileis compositionis vias tentavimus. Et quoniam causa controversiae religionis, multis laboribus frustra susceptis, non potuit ad aliquam concordiam reduci, ad animum revocavimus, id quod res est, non posse crudelitati ac tyrannidi Turcicae validius resisti quam si in Imperio communis ac firma pax constituatur.

Pro qua re apud eius Maiestatem cum debita reverentia intercessimus et impetravimus ut ipsius Maiestas, tanquam supremum caput Imperii, ex singulari animi propensione erga pacem et tranquillitatem publicam, tandem clementer consenserit ut communis ac publica pax inter ipsius Maiestatem et omnes Status Imperii Germanicae nationis, tam ecclesiasticos quam saeculares constituatur et firmetur usque ad generale, liberum, Christianum concilium, quemadmodum de hoc in Comitibus Imperialibus Norinbergae decretum est: vel si id non procedat, ad hoc usque tempus donec communes Status Imperii ad locum commodum iterum convocentur et conscribantur, ut infra in peculiari articulo de ea re cautum est: ita videlicet ut interea temporis usque ad praedictum concilium vel quo Status Imperii iterum convenerint et aliter deliberaverint, nemo propter religionis vel ullam aliam causam alteri bellum indicat, inferat, ipsumve spoliat, capiat, invadat, obsideat, neque ad haec facienda per se vel per alium cuiquam inserviat, arces, urbes, oppida, castella, pagos, villas vel praedia insidiis occupet, aut contra voluntatem alterius violenter adimat, dolove malo, incendiis vel alia ratione alteri damnum det. Neque ullis istiusmodi machinatoribus, consilio, auxilio vel alio modo opem ferat, neque eos sciens hospitio excipiat, victum potum aut receptum praebeat aut toleret: sed unusquisque alterum vera amicitia et Christiana caritate complectatur.

Quam pacem publicam iam descriptam Caesarea Maiestas universis Imperii ordinibus publicari ac annunciarı curavit, et sub expressa gravi et formidabili poena servandam mandavit, seque benigne operam daturum esse promisit ut praedictum Concilium intra dimidium annum indicatur et deinde intra unum annum inchoetur. Si vero fieri non possit, ut hoc casu

communes Status Imperii iterum ad locum commodum vocentur et conscribantur, ad deliberandum quid in posterum de Concilio tum de aliis rebus necessariis agendum et statuendum sit.

Ad haec Caesarea Maiestas, ut talis pax publica eo certius et stabilius conservari posset, benigne consensit et promisit quod omnes processus iudiciales in causis religionis qui per ipsius Maiestatis fiscalem et alios contra Electorem Saxoniae et eius coniunctos inchoati essent aut deinceps inchoarentur, inhibere abrogare et suspendere velit, usque ad futurum Concilium, vel si hoc non procedat, usque ad ulteriorem deliberationem praedictorum Statuum Imperii: quorum quidem omnium ipsius Maiestas cautionem ad manus nostras transmittere ac tradere velit.

Vicissim vero agnati et consanguinei nostri, Saxoniae Elector, Duces Luneburgenses et alii eorum coniuncti promiserunt se quoque hanc publicam pacificationem constanter et bona fide servaturos neque in huius praeiudicium quicquam suscepturos esse; quodque Caesariae Maiestati debitam reverentiam et obedientiam praestare, et convenientem opem ac auxilium contra Turcam, sicut hoc per communes Status Imperii decretum est, non gravatim conferre velint, prorsus ad eum modum quemadmodum de his omnibus in suo quodam responso quod nobis scriptum reddi curaverunt, clare expressum est. . . .

[Here follow the signatures of the representatives of the above-named 9 princes and 24 cities.]

Quae datae sunt Norinbergae, feria tertia post Mariae Magdalenae festum, A.D. MDXXXII.

XXXVII

THE EXTENSION OF PROTESTANTISM, 1532-41

On the retreat of the Turk (Ranke, *Ref.* 693) the Emperor left Germany and was absent for nine years, Sept. 1532-41. He left, in part, to expedite the Council with the Pope. But the Court of Rome had its own reasons for delay; and Clement VII managed, first by procrastination, 20 Dec. 1532 (*ibid.* 697), and then through the alliance, 27 Oct. 1533, of his niece, Catherine de Medici, with Prince Henry of Orleans, son of Francis I (Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, IV. ii. 101 sqq.), to resist the imperial pressure till his death, 25 Sept. 1534. Paul III, 1534-49, his successor, was better aware of the need of reform, though he was not disposed to forgo the

advantage of holding the Council in an Italian city. Accordingly it was summoned by a Bull of 4 June 1536 (Raynaldus, *Anecd.*, i. 411) to Mantua; and, when that proved abortive, by a second of 8 Oct. 1537 (*ibid.* 462) to Vicenza: and a new spirit revived itself in the Court of Rome with the publication, 1538, of a *Consilium delectorum Cardinalium de emendanda ecclesia* (Le Plat, *Monumenta Tridentina*, ii. 596 sqq.). At this point, however, the Emperor's preoccupations stood in the way. There were wars with the Turk in the East, 1532 and 1539; there were expeditions to Tunis, 1535, and to Algiers, 1541; there was a second war with Francis, from 1536 to 18 June 1538, the Pacification of Nice (Dumont, IV. ii. 169); there was a revolt in the Netherlands, 1539-40, before Charles was once more free to attend to the reform of the Church.

These preoccupations left the Protestants at liberty to pursue plans of their own (cf. Seckendorf, *Historia Lutheranismi*, III. viii, § 31). In 1532 the three princes of Anhalt-Dessau, John †1551, George †1553, and Joachim †1561, brought Nicholas Hausmann, †1538, as preacher to Dessau, and the country became Protestant by 1534 (Ranke, *Ref.* 720). So too in 1534 Protestantism triumphed in Nassau; and in the important cities of Hannover, Frankfurt-am-Main and, 22 July, Augsburg. The year 1534 also saw the defection of two larger territories—(a) Württemberg, and (b) Pomerania.

(a) By the peace of Kadan, 29 June 1534 (Dumont, IV. ii. 115), Württemberg became Protestant under the restored Duke Ulrich, 1534-†50. Its conversion was of importance, not merely because it drove a wedge of Lutheranism into Upper Germany, but also because its two reformers, Ambrose Blaurer, 1492-†1564, and Erhard Schnepf, 1493-†1552, representing respectively the Bucerian and the strictly Lutheran type of Protestantism, were united by, 2 Aug. 1534, the Concord of Württemberg upon a doctrine of the Eucharist to the effect that 'Corpus et sanguinem Christi vere, i.e. substantialiter et essentialiter, non autem quantitative aut qualitative vel localiter, praesentia esse et exhiberi in Coena' (Ranke, *Ref.* 718).

(b) Pomerania, upon the death of Duke George, 1523-†31, became by the agreement of Kammin, Aug. 1534, between his son Duke Philip, 1531-†60, of Pommern-Wolgast, and his brother Duke Barnim, 1532-†73, of Pommern-Stettin, a Protestant country. The reformation was established there by a Recess of the Diet at Treptow, 13 Dec.; and by a Visitation, followed by a Church Ordinance (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 248 sqq.) from Bugenhagen, 1535 (Ranke, *Ref.* 721).

A temporary check, it is true, was put to this progress by the disrepute which the reformation incurred from its connexion with the Anabaptists of Münster (Ranke, *Ref.* 724). But when Lutheran fought side by side with Catholic to put them down, 24 June 1535, Protestantism once more purged its credit, and its

progress went on as before. The theological approximation of south to north was aided by [No. 127] the Concord of Wittenberg, 29 May 1536 (*Corpus Reformatorum*, iii. 75 sqq.); but it was endangered again (*ibid.* iii. 371) by [No. 128] the Schmalkaldic Articles, 23 Feb. 1537 (Francke, *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Lutheranae*, ii. 1 sqq.). Still, the League, with these for its basis, found itself strong enough to repudiate, 5 March (Le Plat, *op. cit.* ii. 575 sqq.), the Council convoked to meet in Mantua 23 May 1537: and, before the Emperor was free again, Protestantism was acknowledged, 1539, in Albertine Saxony; in Electoral Brandenburg; in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, which was reformed by Duke Magnus, Bishop of Schwerin, 1516-†50; and in Brunswick-Calenberg, 1540, through the Duchess Elizabeth of Brandenburg, regent for her son Eric II, 1540-†84.

In Albertine Saxony (cf. L. Pastor, *Die kirchlichen Reunionsbestrebungen*, 146 sqq.) Duke George's ideal of a reformation was advocated by his chancellor Carlowitz at [No. 129] The Colloquy of Leipzig, 2 Jan. 1539, with the Elector's adviser Brück (*ap.* Seckendorf, III. xix, § 71, 208), but it was too Erasmian for the representatives of the Elector and the Landgrave—mere 'Wisacres' botching' (Pastor, *op. cit.* 157). The old duke died 16 April 1539; and, at Luther's advice, his brother and successor, Duke Henry, 1539-†41, instituted a visitation to introduce the Reformation (Seckendorf, 217). His bishops, Johann von Maltitz, of Meissen, 1534-†49, and Sigismund von Lindenau, 1535-†44, of Merseburg, stood aloof, the former protesting 'quod absque suo consensu visitationem Dux instituerit quae pertineat ad officium episcopi', but to no purpose. The Visitation was hurriedly carried out by agents from Wittenberg, by Instructions of 10 July 1539 (Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, I. i. 257 sqq.) and a Church Ordinance (*ibid.* 264 sqq.). Under Henry's son and successor, Maurice, 1541-†53, consistory and superintendents took the place of bishops (*ibid.* I. i. 95).

In Electoral Brandenburg (cf. Seckendorf, III. xx, § 75, 234 sqq.; Heidemann, *Die Reformation in der Mark Brandenburg*) Joachim I, 1499-†1535, was a strenuous opponent of Luther, not least because, under Luther's influence (de Wette, iii. 296), his wife Elizabeth had at Easter, 1527, declared herself Lutheran by receiving the Sacrament in both kinds. She then (Spalatin, *ap.* Mencken, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, ii. 1116) took refuge, 24 March 1528, with her uncle, John Elector of Saxony. Joachim died 11 July 1535; and was succeeded (a) in the Neumark by his younger son, Hans von Küstrin 1513-†71, who, with his people, went over, Easter 1538, by receiving communion in both kinds: and (b) in the Kurmark by Joachim II, 1535-†71. This prince, brought up by his uncle Albert, Cardinal Archbishop of Mainz, was married to Magdalen, daughter of George, Duke of Saxony. He was held back, first, by that connexion; then, after her death, by his second marriage, 1535, to Hedwig, daughter of the Catholic Sigismund,

King of Poland, 1506-†48. But his personal inclination was towards reform, though of his own type - 'I am as little disposed,' said he, 'to be bound to the Church of Wittenberg as to the Church of Rome: for I do not say *Credo Sanctam Romanam* or *Wittenbergensem* but *Catholicam ecclesiam*'; and my church here in Berlin-Köln is just as true a Christian church as the church of Wittenberg' (*ap. Pastor, Reunionsbestrebungen*, 163). He was seconded by nobles and towns (Heidemann, 208) as well as by one of the three bishops of the Mark, Matthias von Jagow, Bishop of Brandenburg, 1526-†44. The others resisted, Busso von Alvensleben, Bishop of Havelberg, 1522-†48, and George von Blumenthal, Bishop of Lebus, 1523-†50. Joachim summoned a commission of divines, among them Melanchthon and Duke George's counsellor, the Erasmus George Witzel, 1501-†73 (*Pastor, Reunionsbestrebungen*, 140 sqq.) to consider the situation. In October 1539 they resolved upon a [No. 130] conservative programme of reform (cf. Letters in *C. R.* iii. 522, 789 sq., 803). The signal for its adoption was the Elector's reception, 1 Nov. 1539, of the Sacrament in both kinds at Spandau (Heidemann, 214): followed, 2 Nov., by the same proceeding on the part of his people in Berlin (*ibid.* 215). On 1 March 1540, after consulting Luther (de Wette, v. 232), the nobles and towns in the Diet, but not the spirituality, admitted a Church Ordinance (Sehling, iii. 28 sqq.), which professedly left the door open for the retention of episcopacy, and kept much of the old worship. It was accepted, 24 July 1541, by the Emperor (Riedel, *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, II. vi. 468 sqq.), and followed up by a Visitation, 1540-2. But the Bishops of Havelberg and Lebus entered a protest (Heidemann, 224), and even Matthias of Brandenburg, 10 July 1540, had to write to the Elector requesting that his 'episcopal rights and jurisdiction might not be abridged' (Riedel, III. iii. 480). Episcopal authority soon proved incompatible with the new régime: and it was denounced as 'tyranny' by the preachers (*ibid.* I. ix. 462). In 1543 consistories and superintendents took the place of bishops with the Elector as *summus episcopus* (Heidemann, 261). The Chapters died out. The Sees were appropriated by Hohenzollern princes (Sehling, iii. 14).

But now came a check. On 4 March 1540 there took place, in the presence of Melanchthon and Butzer, with the consent of Luther (*C. R.* iii. 862), the bigamous marriage of Philip of Hesse. 'Defectionem etiam,' writes Melanchthon (*ibid.* 1079), 'minitabatur si nos consulere ei nollemus.' It detached Philip from the League: and forced him into a secret compact, 13 June 1541, with the Emperor. The progress of Protestantism was thus suddenly stayed.

No. 126. *Consilium de electorum Cardinalium . . . de emendanda ecclesia, 1538.*

Beatissime pater, tantum abest ut verbis explicare possimus quam magnas gratias republica Christiana Deo Optimo Maximo

agere debeat, quod te pontificem hisce temporibus ac pastorem gregi suo praefecerit, eamque quam habes mentem dederit; ut minime speremus cogitatione eas quas Deo gratias debet consequi posse. Nam Spiritus ille Dei quo virtus coelorum firmata est (ut ait propheta) labantem, imo fere collapsam in praeceps ecclesiam Christi per te restaurare et huic ruinae manum, ut videmus, supponere decrevit, eamque erigere ad pristinam sublimitatem decorique pristino restituere. Certissimam divinae huius sententiae coniecturam nos facere valemus, quibus sanctitas tua ad se vocatis mandavit ut, nullius aut commodi tui aut cuiuspiam alterius habita ratione, tibi significaremus abusus illos, gravissimos videlicet morbos, quibus iam pridem ecclesia Dei laborat, ac praesertim haec Romana curia: quibus effectum prope est ut paulatim ac sensim ingravescentibus pestiferis his morbis magnam hanc ruinam traxerit quam videmus. Et quoniam sanctitas tua Spiritu Dei erudita, qui (ut inquit Augustinus) loquitur in cordibus nullo verborum strepitu, probe noverat principium horum malorum inde fuisse quod nonnulli pontifices tui praedecessores prurientes auribus, ut inquit apostolus Paulus, coacervaverunt sibi magistros ad desideria sua, non ut ab eis discerent quid facere deberent, sed ut eorum studio et calliditate inveniretur ratio qua liceret id quod liberet—inde effectum est, praeterquam quod principatum omnem sequitur adulatio, ut umbra corpus, difficillimusque semper fuit aditus veritatis ad aures principum, quod confestim prodirent doctores qui docerent pontificem esse dominum beneficiorum omnium: ac ideo cum dominus iure vendat id quod suum est, necessario sequi in pontificem non posse cadere Simoniam. Ita quod voluntas pontificis, qualiscunque ea fuerit, sit regula qua eius operationes et actiones dirigantur; ex quo proculdubio effici ut quicquid libeat, id etiam liceat. Ex hoc fonte, sancte pater, tanquam ex equo Troiano, irrupere in ecclesiam Dei tot abusus et tam graves morbi, quibus nunc conspicimus eam ad desperationem fere salutis laborasse, et manasse harum rerum famam ad infideles usque (credat sanctitas vestra scientibus), qui ob hanc praecipue causam Christianam religionem derident, adeo ut per nos, per nos iniquimus, nomen Christi blasphemetur inter gentes. Tu vero, sanctissime pater et vere sanctissime, edoctus a Spiritu Dei, praeter veterem illam tuam prudentiam cum totus in hanc curam incubueris, ut sanatis aegritudinibus Christi ecclesia tuae curae commissa bonam valetudinem recuperaret, vidisti ac probe vidisti, inde incipiendam medica-

tionem unde primum ortus est morbus, secutusque doctrinam apostoli Pauli vis esse dispensator non dominus, et fidelis inveniri a Domino; imitatus etiam servum illum, quem in evangelio Dominus praefecit familiae suae, ut det illis in tempore tritici mensuram: ac propterea decrevisti nolle quod non liceat, nec vis posse quod non debes. Ideoque nos ad te accersivisti, imperitos quidem ac tam magno negotio impares, non parum tamen affectos cum honori et gloriae sanctitatis tuae, tum praecipue instaurationi ecclesiae Christi: ac gravissimis verbis iniunxisti, ut omnes hos abusus colligeremus, tibi que illos significaremus: obtestatus nos reddituros esse rationem huius negotii nobis demandati Deo optimo, si negligenter ac infideliter ageremus. Atque ut omnia liberius inter nos tractari possent, tibi que a nobis explicari, iureiurando nos destrinxisti, addita etiam excommunicationis poena, ne cuipiam aliquid huius nostri muneris proderemus.

Nos igitur tuo imperio parentes, collegimus, quanto paucioribus fieri potuit, hos morbos eorumque remedia, ea, inquam, quae pro tenuitate ingenii nostri excogitare potuimus. Tu vero pro tua bonitate ac sapientia omnia resarcies ac perficies, in quibus pro tenuitate nostra offenderimus. Verum ut omnia certis quibusdam finibus complectamur: cum sanctitas tua et sit princeps provinciarum harum quae subsunt ditioni ecclesiasticae et sit pontifex universalis ecclesiae, sit etiam episcopus Romanus, nihil nobis dicendum sumpsimus de his quae pertinent ad hunc principatum ecclesiae, quem tua prudentia optime regi videmus: tangemus tantum ea quae pertinent ad officium universalis pontificis, et nonnulla quae sunt Romani episcopi. Illud vero ante omnia, beatissime pater, putamus statuendum esse, ut dicit Aristoteles in politicis: sicut in unaquaque republica, ita et in hac ecclesiastica gubernatione ecclesiae Christi, hanc prae omnibus legem habendam, ut quantum fieri potest leges servantur; nec putemus nobis licere dispensare in legibus, nisi urgenti de causa et necessaria. Nulla namque perniciosior consuetudo in quavis republica induci potest quam haec legum inobservantia, quas sanctas maiores nostri esse voluerunt, earumque potestatem venerandam et divinam appellarunt. Scis tu haec omnia, optime pontifex, et legisti iam pridem apud philosophos et theologos: illud vero non tantum huic proximum sed longe prius et potius superiore putamus, non licere pontifici et Christi vicario in usu potestatis, clavium potestatis inquirimus, a Christo ei collatae, lucrum aliquod comparare. Hoc etenim est Christi mandatum: *Gratis*

accepistis, gratis date. His primum statutis, cum sanctitas vestra ita gerat curam ecclesiae Christi, ut ministros plurimos habeat per quos hanc curam exerceat; hi autem sunt clerici omnes, quibus mandatus est cultus Dei, presbyteri praesertim et maxime curati, et prae omnibus episcopi; idcirco si gubernatio haec sit recte processura, primo danda est opera ut hi ministri idonei sint muneri quo fungi debent.

(1) Primus abusus in hac parte est ordinatio clericorum et praesertim presbyterorum, in qua nulla adhibetur cura, nulla adhibetur diligentia: quod passim quicumque sint imperitissimi, sint vilissimo genere orti, sint malis moribus ornati, sint adolescentes, admittantur ad ordines sacros et maxime ad presbyteratum, ad characterem, inquam, Christum maxime experimentem. Hinc innumera scandala, hinc contemptus ordinis ecclesiastici, hinc divini cultus veneratio non tantum diminuta, sed etiam prope iam extincta. Ideo putamus optimum fore si sanctitas tua primo in hac urbe praeficeret huic negotio duos aut tres praelatos, viros doctos et probos qui ordinationibus clericorum praesentent. Iniungeret etiam episcopis omnibus, adhibitis etiam poenis censurarum, ut id curarent in suis diocesisibus. Nec permittat sanctitas vestra ut quispiam ordinetur nisi ab episcopo suo, vel cum licentia deputatorum in urbe aut episcopi sui: insuper, ut in ecclesiis suis quisque episcopus magistrum habeat a quo clerici minores et litteris et moribus instruantur, ut iura praecipiant.

(2) Abusus alius maximi ponderis est in collatione beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, maxime curatorum, et prae omnibus episcopatum, in quibus usus invaluit ut provideatur personis quibus conferuntur beneficia, non autem gregi Christi et ecclesiae. Ideo in conferendis his beneficiis, curatis, inquam, sed prae aliis episcopatibus, curandum est ut conferantur viris bonis doctisque: ideo ut per se possint fungi illis muneribus ad quae tenentur; insuper illis, quos verisimile est residentiam facturos. Non ergo Italo conferendum est beneficium in Hispania aut in Britannia, aut e contra. Hoc servandum est tam in collationibus cum vacant per decessum, quam in cessionibus in quibus nunc tantum habetur ratio voluntatis cedentis, nulla praeterea ipsius rei. In cessionibus his, si quispiam praeficeretur probus unus pluresve, bene factum iri putaremus.

(3) Alius abusus, cum beneficia conferuntur seu cum ceduntur aliis, irrepsit in constituendis super eorum fructibus pensionibus: imo quandoque cedens beneficio omnes sibi fructus

revelat. Quia in re aliud est animadvertendum, nulla alia de causa nulloque alio iure personae constitui posse nisi ut quidam necessitates, quae in populi usus et utilitatem concedi debent. Nam redditus sunt annexi beneficio, ut corpus animaeque illius cuius natura pertinet ad eum, qui beneficium habet, ut possit ex eis vivere honeste pro suo ordine, simulque quae sunt necessariae pro divino cultu et templi sacrumque alium reparatione, et quod reliquum est, expendat in pietatis usum. Hic est enim natura rerum ordinum. Verum sicuti in rerum naturae administratione nonnulla fiunt a natura pertinetque potest et inclinationem universalem naturae: sic et pontifices, quoniam sunt universales dispensatores bonorum ecclesiae, et vident eam in eisdem quoniamque quae in populo iure expendi debet, aut eius partem in pium quempiam alium usum ut expensis uti uti possint, potest personalitate id facere. Ideo iure merito pensionem ponere potest, ut subveniat egeno, praesentibus etiam, et honeste quos vitam ducere pro eisdem ordine. Ideo omnes fructus reservari, adimique id omne quod minus cultui sustentationique habentis beneficium tribui debet, magnus est abusus: atque pensionem dari clericis divitiibus, qui commode et honeste vivere queunt ex redditibus quos habent, magnus certe abusus, tollendus uterque.

[47] Alius item abusus in parochialibus beneficiis, quae sunt cum parochiis quae Synagoga omnia sunt, nulloque respectu habito nisi lucri.

[48] Abusus alius omnino a seorsum, qui caliditate quidam rerum bonorum parochiarum non cavent in hac curia: nam cum legi constet ut beneficium testamentis legari non possit, cum non sint testamenti sed in alio, et ut res haec voluntatis servaretur communis bonorum omnium, non autem fieret privata ecclesiarum, utrumque bonum non tam Christiane iudicia plurimum modis quibus hoc legi dilatur. Nam sunt inquisitiones episcopatum aliorumque beneficiorum, primo non reguntur, sed sunt reservationem fructuum, id est reservationem collationis beneficiorum. In hoc etiam reservationem aliorumque beneficiorum faciuntque hoc pacto episcopum, qui nullum non habet episcopum: alterum vero, cu iura omnia eorumque comparant, cum tamen episcopum. Videat sanctitas tua, quid pro eis auctoritate illa distinet, qui tandem effectum est ut id liceat quod libeat. Quid quaeso est hoc nisi heredes beneficiorum sibi constituere? Alius praeter hunc inventus est dolus, cum scilicet coadiutores dantur episcopis petentibus, minus illius quam qui sunt, ut ut non quipiam de alio oculos voluerit, liquido videat heredem ea ratione institui.

Item lex est antiqua instaurata a Clemente, ne filii presbyterorum habeant parentum beneficium, ne scilicet res communis hoc modo fiat privata: dispensatur tamén (ut audimus) in hac veneranda lege. Nolumus tacere, id quod verissimum esse quivis prudens per se iudicaverit, nullam rem magis conflasse invidiam clericis, unde tot seditiones sunt ortae et aliae instant, quam hanc aversionem commodorum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum a communi ad rem privatam: antehac omnes sperabant, nunc in desperationem adducti acuunt linguas contra hanc sedem.

(6) Alius abusus est in expectativis et reservationibus beneficiorum, et datur occasio ut aliena mors desideretur et libenter audiatur. Praecludunt etiam aditum supremum dignioribus cum vacant, dant litibus causam. Omnes has putamus tollendas esse.

(7) Abusus alius est eadem calliditate inventus. Nam quaedam beneficia incompatibilia iure sunt et appellantur, quae ex ipsa vi nominis maiores nostri admonere nos voluerunt non deberi uni conferri: nunc in his dispensatur, non tantum duobus sed pluribus: et, quod peius est, in episcopatibus. Hunc morem, qui ob avaritiam tantum invaluit, tollendum ducimus, praesertim in episcopatibus. Quid de unionibus beneficiorum ad vitam unius, ne scilicet obstet illa beneficiorum pluralitas ad obtinenda incompatibilia, nonne est mera fraus legis?

(8) Alius etiam abusus invaluit, ut reverendissimis cardinalibus episcopatus conferantur seu commendentur, non unus tantum sed plures: quem, pater beatissime, putamus magni esse momenti in ecclesia Dei. Primo quidem quia officium cardinalatus et officium episcopi incompatibilia sunt. Nam cardinalis est assistere sanctitati tuae in gubernanda universali ecclesia: officium autem episcopi est pascere gregem suum: quod praestare bene et ut debet haud potest, nisi habitet cum ovibus suis, ut pastor cum grege.

Praeterea, pater sancte, hic usus maxime obest exemplo. Quomodo namque haec sancta sedes poterit dirigere et corrigere aliorum abusus, si in praecipuis suis membris abusus tolerentur? Nec ob id quod cardinales sint, putamus eis magis licere transgredi legem, imo longe minus. Horum enim vita debet esse aliis lex; nec imitandi sunt Pharisaei qui dicunt et non faciunt: sed Christus salvator noster inceptit facere et postea docere. Amplius hic usus nocet in consultationibus ecclesiae; nam haec licentia fomentum est avaritiae.

Ambiunt praeterea cardinales a regibus et principibus episcopatus : a quibus postea dependent ne possint libere sententiam dicere ; imo si possent et vellent, fallerentur tamen passione animi in iudicando perturbati. Ideo utinam hic mos tolleretur et providerentur cardinalibus, ut possent honeste pro dignitate vivere, omnibus aequales redditus : quod putamus facile fieri posse, si vellemus abicere servitutem mammonae et Christo tantum servire.

His castigatis quae pertinent ad constituendos tibi ministros quibus veluti instrumentis et cultus Dei bene administrari et populus Christianus in vita Christiana bene institui et regi possit, accedendum nobis est ad illa quae spectant ad gubernationem Christiani populi. In qua re, pater beatissime, abusus ille primo et prae omnibus corrigendus est ne scilicet episcopi primum et prae omnibus aliis, deinde ne curati abessent a suis ecclesiis et parochiis nisi ob gravem aliquam causam, sed residentiam facerent ; maxime episcopi, ut diximus, quia sunt sponsi ecclesiae ipsis demandatae. Nam, per Deum immortalem, quis miserabilior viro Christiano conspectus esse potest Christianum orbem peragranti quam haec solitudo ecclesiarum ? Omnes fere pastores recesserunt a suis gregibus, commissi sunt omnes fere mercenariis. Imponenda ergo est magna poena episcopis prae aliis, deinde curatis, qui absunt a suis gregibus, non tantum censurarum sed etiam ne reciperent redditus illi qui absunt, nisi impetrata licentia a tua sanctitate episcopi, curati ab episcopis suis, per breve aliquod temporis spatium. Legantur in hoc aliqua iura, aliquorum conciliorum decreta quibus cautum erat episcopo non licere abesse a sua ecclesia nisi tribus tantum Dominicis.

(9) Abusus etiam est quod tot reverendiss. cardinales absint ab hac curia, nec aliqua in parte faciant quidpiam eius officii quod spectat ad cardinales. Ideo etsi fortasse non omnes, quia expedire existimamus nonnullos habitare in provinciis suis, nam per illos tanquam per radices quasdam in totum orbem Christianum sparsas continentur populi sub hac Romana sede, plurimos tamen esset sanctitatis tuae vocare ad curiam, ut hic residerent. Hac enim ratione, praeterquam quod fungerentur officio suo cardinales, provideretur etiam amplitudini curiae supplereturque si quid ei detractum fuisset per recessum multorum episcoporum qui ad suas ecclesias se contulissent.

(10) Alius abusus magnus et minime tolerandus, quo universus populus Christianus scandalizatur, est ex impedimentis quae inferuntur episcopis in gubernatione suarum ovium,

maxime in puniendis scelestis et corrigendis. Nam primo multis viis eximunt se mali homines, praesertim clerici, a iurisdictione sui ordinarii : deinde, si non sunt exempti, confugiunt statim ad poenitentiarium vel ad datariam, ubi confestim inveniunt viam impunitati et, quod peius est, ob pecuniam praestitam ; hoc scandalum, beatissime pater, tantopere conturbat Christianum populum ut non queat verbis explicari. Tollantur, obtestamur sanctitatem tuam per sanguinem Christi, quo redemit sibi ecclesiam suam canique lavit eodem sanguine : tollantur hae maculae, quibus si daretur quispiam aditus in quacunque hominum republica aut regno, confestim, aut paulo post, in praeceps rueret nulloque pacto diutius constare posset : et tamen putamus nobis licere ut per nos in Christianam rempublicam inducantur haec monstra.

(11) Alius abusus corrigendus est in ordinibus religiosorum, quod adeo multi deformati sunt, ut magno sint scandalo secularibus exemploque plurimum noceant. Conventuales ordines abolendos esse putamus omnes, non tamen ut alicui fiat iniuria sed prohibendo ne novos possint admittere. Sic enim sine ullius iniuria cito deleberentur, et boni religiosi eis substitui possent. Nunc vero putamus optimum fore si omnes pueri qui non sunt professi ab eorum monasteriis repellerentur.

(12) Hoc etiam animadvertendum et corrigendum censemus in praedicatoribus et confessoribus constituendis a fratribus, quod ab eorum praefectis primum adhiberetur magna diligentia ut idonei essent, deinde ut praesentarentur episcopis quibus prae omnibus cura ecclesiae est demandata, a quibus examinarentur per se vel per viros idoneos, nec nisi eorum consensu admitterentur ad haec peragenda.

Diximus, beatissime pater, non licere aliquo pacto in usu clavium aliquid lucri utenti comparari ; est in hac re firmum verbum Christi : *Gratis accepistis, gratis date*. Hoc non tantum ad sanctitatem tuam pertinet sed ad omnes qui sunt participes huius potestatis, ideo a legatis et nuntiis vellemus idem servari. Nam sicut usus qui nunc invaluit dedecorat hanc sedem et conturbat populum, ita si fieret e contra, maximum decus huic sedi compararetur et aedificaretur mirifice populus.

(13) Abusus alius turbat Christianum populum in monialibus, quae sunt sub cura fratrum conventualium ubi in plerisque monasteriis fiunt publica sacrilegia cum maximo omnium scandalo. Auferat ergo sanctitas vestra omnem eam curam a

conventualibus, canique det aut ordinariis aut aliis, prout melius videbitur.

(14) Abusus magnus et perniciosus est in gymnasticis publicis, praesertim in Italia, in quibus multi philosophiae professores impietatem docent, imo in templis fiunt disputationes impiissimae: et si quae sunt piae, tractantur in eis res divinae coram populo valde irreverenter. Ideo putaremus indicendum episcopis ubi sunt publica gymnasia ut per eos admonerentur lectores qui legunt ne docerent adolescentes impietatem, sed ostenderent infirmitatem luminis naturalis in quaestionibus pertinentibus ad Deum, ad mundi novitatem vel aeternitatem et similia, cosque ad pietatem dirigerent. Similiter ne permitterent fieri publicas disputationes de huiusmodi quaestionibus, neque etiam de rebus theologicis, quae certe multum existimationis perdunt apud vulgus, sed privatim de his rebus fiant disputationes, publice de aliis quaestionibus physicis. Idemque iniungendum esset omnibus aliis episcopis, maxime insignium civitatum, in quibus huius generis disputationes fieri solent. In impressione etiam librorum eadem adhibenda esset diligentia, scribendumque principibus omnibus ut caveant ne passim quivis libri in eorum ditione imprimantur, dandaque esset huius rei cura ordinariis. Et quoniam pueris in ludis solent nunc legi *Colloquia Erasmi*, in quibus multa sunt quae rudes animos informant ad impietatem, ideo eorum lectio in ludis litterariis prohibenda esset, et si quae alia sunt huius ordinis.

Post haec quae ad instituendos ministros tuos in hac universalis ecclesiae cura et in eius deinde administratione spectare videntur, animadvertendum est in gratiis quae fiunt a tua beatitudine, praeter priores abusus, alios quoque abusus introductos esse.

(15) Primus est in fratribus seu religiosis apostatis, qui post votum solenne a sua religione recedunt, impetrantque ne teneantur gerere habitum sui ordinis, imo nec vestigium habitus, sed tantum vestem honestam clericalem. Praetermittamus nunc de lucro. Iam enim diximus in principio non licere ex usu clavium et potestatis a Christo traditae comparare sibi lucrum, sed etiam ab hac gratia abstinendum. Nam habitus est signum professionis, unde nec ab episcopo potest dimitti, cui tenentur hi apostatae; ideo haec gratia eis concedi non deberet, neque etiam cum ipsi recesserint a voto, quo Deo se obligarant, eis permittatur ut habeant beneficia neque administrationes.

(16) Alius abusus in quaestuariis sancti Spiritus, sancti

Antonii, aliisque huius generis, qui decipiunt rusticos et simplices, eosque innumeris superstitionibus implicant. Tollendos hos quaestuarios censemus.

(17) Abusus alius in dispensatione cum constituto in sacris ordinibus ut possit uxorem ducere. Haec dispensatio non esset ulli danda nisi pro conservatione populi cuiuspiam vel gentis ubi esset publica causa gravissima, praesertim his temporibus in quibus urgent Lutherani hanc rem maxime.

(18) Abusus in dispensatione in nuptiis inter consanguineos seu affines. Certe in secundo gradu non putamus faciendam esse nisi ob publicam causam gravem. In aliis vero gradibus non nisi ob causam honestam et absque pecunia, ut diximus, nisi iam prius coniuncti essent, ubi liceret pro absolutione a peccato iam perpetrato imponi mulcta pecuniaria, post absolutionem, et deputari ad pios usus, in quibus facit sanctitas tua impensas. Nam sicut ubi non est peccatum in usu clavium, nihil exigi potest pecuniae, ita ubi absolutio petitur a peccato, imponi mulcta pecuniaria potest et deputari ad pios usus.

(19) Abusus alius in absolutione Simoniaci. Proh dolor! quantum in ecclesia Dei regnat hoc pestilens vitium, adeo ut quidam non vereantur Simoniam committere, deinde confestim petunt absolutionem a poena, imo eam emunt, sicque retinent beneficium quod emerunt. Non dicimus sanctitatem tuam non posse poenam illam quae est de iure positivo constituta eis condonare; sed quod nullo pacto debeat ut tanto scelerei resistatur, quo nullum perniciosius nec magis scandalosum.

(20) Licentia etiam testandi clericis de bonis ecclesiae non esset danda nisi pro causa urgente, ne bona pauperum converterentur in privatas delicias et amplificationes domorum.

(21) Confessionalia autem cum usu altaris portatilis non essent facile danda, sic enim vilescent ecclesiasticae res et sacramentum omnium praecipuum. Nec indulgentiae item dandae essent nisi semel in anno in unaquaque insignium civitatum. Commutatio etiam votorum neque ita facile facienda neque commutanda praeterquam in aequivalens bonum.

(22) Consuevere etiam mutari voluntates ultimae testatorum, qui ad pias causas legant quampiam pecuniae summam, quam auctoritate sanctitatis tuae transferunt ad heredem vel legatarium, ob praetensam paupertatem &c., idque ob lucrum. Certe, nisi facta sit magna mutatio in re familiari heredis per obitum testatoris, ita quod verisimile sit testatorem ob eam

mutationem mutaturum fuisse voluntatem, voluntates testatorum mutari impium est : de lucro iam toties diximus, quare putamus omnino abstinendum.

(23) Omnibus in summa explicatis quae pertinent ad universalis ecclesiae pontificem, quantum animo potuimus comprehendere, restat ut nonnulla dicamus quae pertinent ad Romanum episcopum. Haec Romana civitas et ecclesia mater est et magistra aliarum ecclesiarum. Ideo maxime in ea vigere debet divinus cultus et morum honestas : ideo, beatissime pater, scandalizantur omnes exteri qui ingrediuntur templum beatissimi Petri ubi sacerdotes quidam sordidi, ignari, induti paramentis et vestibus, quibus nec in sordidis aedibus honeste uti possent, missas celebrant : hoc magnum est omnibus scandalum : ideo iniungendum est reverendissimo archipresbytero, vel reverendissimo poenitentiario, ut haec curent et amoveant hoc scandalum, sicque in aliis ecclesiis.

(24) In hac etiam urbe meretrices ut matronae incedunt per urbem, seu mula vehuntur, quas assectantur de media urbe nobiles familiares cardinalium clericique. Nulla in urbe vidimus hanc corruptionem praeterquam in hac omnium exemplari ; habitant etiam insignes aedes. Corrigendus etiam hic turpis abusus.

(25) Sunt etiam in hac urbe privatorum civium odia et inimicitiae quas componere et cives conciliare praecipue interest episcopi, ideo per cardinales quosdam Romanos, praesertim qui magis essent idonei, omnes hac inimicitiae componendae essent et civium animi conciliandi.

(26) Sunt in hac urbe hospitalia, sunt populi, sunt viduae. Harum cura maxime pertinet ad episcopum et ad principem ; ideo sanctitas tua per cardinales viros probos posset etiam commode haec omnia curare.

Haec sunt, beatissime pater, quae in praesentia pro tenuitate ingenii nostri colligenda esse duximus, et quae nobis corrigenda viderentur. Tu vero pro tua bonitate et sapientia omnia moderabere ; nos certe, si non rei magnitudini, quae nostras vires longe superat, conscientiae tamen nostrae satisfacimus non sine magna spe ut sub te principe videamus ecclesiam Dei purgatam, formosam ut columbam, sibi concordem in unum corpus consentientem, cum aeterna tui nominis memoria. Sumpsisti tibi nomen Pauli : imitaberis, speramus, caritatem Pauli : electus fuit ille ut vas quod deferret nomen Christi per gentes : te vero speramus electum, ut nomen iam Christi oblitum a gentibus et a nobis clericis

restituas, in cordibus et in operibus nostris, aegritudines sanès, oves Christi in unum ovile reducas, amoveasque a nobis iram Dei et ultionem eam quam meremur iam paratam, iam cervicibus nostris imminentem.

Gaspar card. Contarenus.

Ioannes Petrus card. Theatinus.

Iacobus card. Sadoletus.

Reginaldus card. Anglicus.

Fredericus arch. Salernitanus.

Hieronymus arch. Brundisinus.

Ioannes Matthaeus episcopus Veronensis.

Gregorius abbas S. Georgii Venet.

Frater Thomas magister sacri palatii.

No. 127. The Concord of Wittenberg, 29 May 1536.

Concordia inter Doctores Wittebergenses et Doctores civitatum Imperii in Germania superiori. . . .

(1) Confitemur iuxta verba Irenaei constare Eucharistiam duabus rebus, terrena et coelesti. Itaque sentiunt et docent cum pane et vino vere et substantialiter adesse, exhiberi et sumi corpus Christi et sanguinem.

(2) Et quamquam negant fieri transubstantiationem nec sentiunt fieri localem inclusionem in pane aut durabilem aliquam coniunctionem extra usum Sacramenti: tamen concedunt sacramentali unionem panem esse corpus Christi, hoc est, sentiunt porrecto pane simul adesse et vere exhiberi corpus Christi. Nam extra usum, cum asservatur in pixide aut ostenditur in processionibus, ut fit a Papistis, sentiunt non adesse corpus Christi.

(3) Deinde hanc institutionem Sacramenti sentiunt valere in Ecclesia, nec pendere ex dignitate ministri aut sumentis. Quare, sicut Paulus ait, etiam indignos manducare, ita sentiunt porrigi vere corpus et sanguinem Domini etiam indignis, et indignos sumere ubi servantur verba et institutio Christi. Sed tales sumunt ad iudicium, ut Paulus ait, quia abutuntur Sacramento cum sine poenitentia et sine fide eo utuntur. Ideo enim propositum est ut testetur illis applicari beneficia Christi et fieri eos membra Christi et ablui sanguine Christi, qui agunt poenitentiam et erigunt se fide in Christum.

Cum autem pauci convenerimus et opus sit utrinque hanc rem ad alios concionatores et superiores referre, nondum licet nobis de concordia pacisci priusquam ad alios retulerimus

Cum autem omnes profiteantur se iuxta Confessionem et Apologiam Principum Evangelium profitentium in omnibus articulis sentire et docere velle, maxime cupimus sanciri et constitui concordiam. Et spes est nobis, si reliqui utrinque ita consenserint, solidam futuram esse concordiam.

Subscripserunt D. Wolfgangus Capito, M. Martinus Bucer [of Strassburg : and representatives of Ulm, Esslingen, Augsburg, Memmingen, Frankfurt, Constance, Reutlingen] : M. Lutherus ; Iustus Ionas ; Caspar Cruciger ; I. Bugenhagius ; P. Melanchthon ; Iustus Menius Isenacensis ; F. Myconius Gothensis ; Urbanus Regius, Eccl. Ducatus Luneburg. Superint. ; G. Spalatinus, Altenburg. Eccl. Pastor ; et alii multi.

No. 128. The Schmalkaldic Articles, 23 Feb. 1537.

Pars III. Art. vi. De sacramento altaris sentimus panem et vinum in Coena esse verum corpus et sanguinem Christi, et non tantum dari et sumi a piis, sed etiam ab impiis Christianis.

[The Articles were not officially endorsed by the League : but it gave its sanction to Melanchthon's *Tractatus de potestate* . . . *Episcoporum*, 25 Feb., which contained the following :—

§ 66. Docet igitur Hieronymus¹ humana auctoritate distinctos gradus esse episcopi et presbyteri seu pastoris. Idque res ipsa loquitur quia potestas est eadem quam supra dixit. § 67. Sed una res postea fecit discrimen episcoporum et pastorum, videlicet ordinatio, quia institutum est ut unus episcopus ordinaret ministros in pluribus ecclesiis. § 68. Sed quum iure divino non sint diversi gradus episcopi et pastoris, manifestum est ordinationem a pastore in sua ecclesia factam iure divino ratam esse. § 69. Itaque quum episcopi ordinarii fiunt hostes ecclesiae aut nolunt impertire ordinationem, ecclesiae retinent ius suum. . . .]

No. 129. The Colloquy of Leipzig ; Reform in Ducal Saxony, 2 Jan. 1539.

Dixit Carlevitius se experientia didicisse sperandum non esse ut cum episcopis et clero de reformatione transigi posset, sed opus esse ut illa a principibus laicis ad emendationem ecclesiae susciperetur. Hoc ita fieri posse, si ante omnia principes Germaniae coniunctim una die et hora episcopis et

¹ Ep. cxlvi, § 1, ad Evangelum (*Opera*, i. 1082 ; Migne, *P. L.* xxii. 1194).

praelatis proponerent : necesse esse, ut reformationem admitterent ; nam licet laici ab omni parte non carerent defectibus, plurimos tamen in clero reperiri. Ut vero statim norma adesset, secundum quam finaliter omnia dirigi possent, profutendum esse a laicis, se admissuros esse quae in Apostolica Ecclesia et tempore quatuor Oecumenicorum Conciliorum priorum, item ab octo, novem vel decem saeculis observata fuissent, abolitis quae post illa tempora introducta essent. . . . Constituta hac norma, concilium sincerum . . . urgendum esse quod in Germania habeatur, simulque diligendos pios viros . . . qui conferrent . . . quae sententia de omnibus articulis controversis illo tempore in Ecclesia viguisset. Hos deprehensuros esse quid statuendum sit de communione sub utraque, de coniugio sacerdotum, et de abusibus missae : neque enim dubitari posse quin tempore quatuor Conciliorum errores et abusus indagati et abrogati fuerint. . . .

**No. 130. Reform in Electoral Brandenburg,
26 Oct. 1539.**

(a) *Melanchthon to Justus Jonas.* 14 May 1538.—In Marchiam doctrinam et populus mirifice sitit et expetit bona pars nobilitatis et probat Princeps, qui quidem non inerudite iudicat. Ac spem fecit populo se emendaturum esse ecclesias. Repugnant autem sacrificuli, quorum habet magnam multitudinem. Nec usquam vidi stolidiores aut peiores. . . .

(b) *The Elector to Sigismund, King of Poland.* Oct. 1539.—Serenissime atque inclyte Rex, et carissime pater. Cum scirem Regiam dignitatem vestram ut caeteris heroicis virtutibus omnibus ita et amore Christianae pietatis ac veritatis excellere : non dubitavi ad eam de mea voluntate scribere me pio consilio et ea moderatione quae Christianum Principem decet, in ecclesiis meae ditionis quaedam manifesta vitia correcturum esse. Qua in re non populi affectibus aut alienis exemplis moveor ; sed existimo ad eorum officium pertinere, qui praesunt, inspicere ecclesiam, praesertim tali tempore cum dissensionibus motis praefici idoneos doctores necesse est : et ratio ineunda est ut veris modis autoritas religionis et disciplinae retineatur. Eaque moderatione uti decrevi ut non solum nihil contra Catholicam Ecclesiae Christi sententiam recipiam, a qua nulla unquam vis me avellet, sed etiam ne quid auctoritati Episcoporum detrahiam.

Semper ita sensi nullum esse maius decus quam in vera religione veroque cultu Dei constantiam. Quae sententia sic est infixa in animo meo ut non simulatis aut fucosis officiis sed vere colendam esse Christianam pietatem semper statuerim. Quare non raro deploro Ecclesiae morbos cum veteres tum novos et ardentissimis votis emendationem optavi.

Neque enim negari potest quosdam etiam veteres morbos in Ecclesia haerere. Disciplina vetus laxata est, multae superstitiones in tanta Pontificum negligentia et Pastorum inscitia receptae sunt. Nonnihil etiam praesentes discordiae concusserunt Ecclesiam. Ego igitur hactenus eam gravitatem praestiti ut nec abusus probarem aut crudeliter defenderem, ut faciunt alii, nec fanaticis opinionibus in mea ditione locum praerberem. Habeo utriusque rei honestam gravem et piam causam, nec muto hoc iudicium. Cumque videam opus esse ut sanciat disciplina et praeficiantur Ecclesiis boni doctores, suscepi eam curam ut sciat populus in tantis discordiis, quid amplecti, quid fugere debeat. Qua in re quaedam in utraque parte ita moderor ut a Catholica Ecclesia Christi non discedam, nec de auctoritate Episcoporum quidquam detrahiam. Nam nisi aliquid moderari velim, manifesta flagitia probanda essent, et iniusta saevitia exercenda: quorum utrumque ab iis alienissimum esse debet qui vere, non simulatis aut fucosis officiis, religionem colunt. Haec cum ita sint, spero me constantiam praestare dignam bonis viris, et vere amantibus religionem. Nusquam enim discedam a scopo, videlicet a sententia Catholicae Ecclesiae Christi.

Quod vero mihi exempla quorundam vicinorum Principum proponit R. V. D. qui nullam mutationem admiserunt: saepe cum illis ipsis de tota religione collocutus sum. Idemque uterque optabat ut aequitate pontificia restitueretur ecclesiarum concordia, emendatis quibusdam abusibus. Socer meus etiam paulo ante mortem gravissimas de ea re deliberationes habuit. Videbat enim solitudinem fieri in ecclesiis suis, nisi vellet iniustam saevitiam exercere: a qua abhorrere eum, ut erat iustitiae amans, animadverti. Nec moderationem illam iudicabat esse aut secessionem ab ecclesia aut seiunctionem ab iis qui praesunt aut a reliquo nomine Christiano. Quare existimet R. V. D. me non ita in hanc causam ingressum esse ut aliorum bonorum Principum iudicia aut exempla non attenderim. Si qui autem fortasse asperiores sunt, ut esse non multos videmus qui sine discrimine omnes abusus, omnia errata immanitate suppliciorum stabiliunt: horum exempla

nec ante secutus sum, nec unquam imitanda esse duxi. Nec profecto consensum ecclesiae conspiracyem esse ad iniustam, saevitiam exercendam unquam existimavi. Quare etiamsi levior alicubi videor, non propterea vel ab ecclesia vel a reliquo nomine Christiano disiunctus sum. Nam et verum consensum Catholicae Ecclesiae Christi amplector qui extat in scripturis Apostolicis, in veteribus canonibus et probatae fidei scriptoribus; et pollicitus sum me Synodo, si quando rite conveniret, non defuturum esse.

Quod vero hortatur R. V. D. ut expectem Synodum, fateor me haec consilia aliquamdiu Synodi expectatione distulisse. Quid enim communi concordia optatius esset? Sed hanc moram Ecclesiae expectare non possunt, quae interea dissiparentur et in solitudinem ac vastitatem redigerentur si eas non constitueremus. Explorata mihi est voluntas Caroli Imperatoris, D. N. clementissimi, quem scio magna contentione a Clemente et Paulo III petiisse ut quamprimum Synodus haberetur et rite cognitis rebus concordia constitueretur. Sed Pontifices non valde appetunt Synodos, et fortasse regum iudicia non sine causa metuunt; sed tamen si qua erit alicubi Synodus, non deerit ei meum officium. Habet R. V. D. meam purgationem et perpetuae voluntatis testimonium. . . .

(c) *To a friend in Nürnberg*, 26 Oct., 1539. Fui his diebus¹ in Marchia accersitus a Ioachimo Electore. . . . Deliberatur de tollendis abusibus ecclesiarum, sed nollem adhiberi in consilium Mustelam. Ego quaedam ipsius deliberata reprehendi, sed quid futurum sit, exitus ostendet. Kal. Nov. inchoabitur res. Abolentur privatae liturgiae, conceditur sacerdotibus coniugium, tollitur invocatio sanctorum, iubetur pura doctrina tradi, et proponitur vestra *κατήχησις*. Conceditur integri sacramenti usus. Tantum una in re haerebat ὁ ἀρχων, cupiebat adhuc retinere quotidianarum liturgiarum usum, a qua sententia deduci posset, si abesset Mustefa.² . . .

XXXVIII

THE LUTHERANIZING OF DENMARK, NORWAY, AND ICELAND, 1537-40

In Denmark (cf. Münter, *Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark*, iii. 448 sqq.) the Lutheran King Christian III, 1533-†59, planned, 11 Aug. 1536 [No. 131], the seizure of the bishops (Letter of

¹ Since Oct. 12.

² George Witzel.

Johann Pein, a Prussian admiral in Christian's service, to Albert Duke of Prussia, *ap. C. Paludan-Müller, De første Konger af den Oldenborgske Slægt*, p. 620), and abolished episcopacy next day by vote of the Rigsraad. Its abolition was confirmed at the Rigsdag of Copenhagen, 15-30 Oct., whose decisions were embodied in a Royal Manifesto, and in a [No. 132] **General Recess** (N. Cragii *Annales Daniæ*, Addit. I, 3 sqq., Hafniæ, 1737), setting up 'other Christianlike bishops or superintendents that can teach and preach the Holy Gospel'. The King then sent for Bugenhagen to re-arrange ecclesiastical affairs. He arrived July 1537, and, writes Luther (de Wette, v. 88), 'quasi verus episcopus,' crowned the King and Queen, 12 Aug. On 2 Sept., though a mere presbyter, he 'consecrated' seven men, most of them already presbyters like himself, to be superintendents or 'bishops' (cf. Dr. A. J. Mason, 'The loss of the succession in Denmark' in *The Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1891); and published a new, but characteristically conservative [No. 132 a], **Church Ordinance** (Cragii *Annales*, Addit. II, 29 sqq.: Münter, iii. 484 sqq.), afterwards legalized by the Diet of Odense, 1539 (*ibid.* iii. 508). On 9 Sept. he reconstituted the University of Copenhagen, appointing three professors to lecture on the Old Testament, the New Testament, St. Augustine *De Spiritu et littera*, Luther's Commentary on Galatians and Melancthon's *Loci* (Cragii *Annales*, Addit. iii. 101 sq.; Münter, iii. 476 sq.). Meanwhile, the King was received into the Schmalkaldic League, 1538 (*ibid.* iii. 512) as Duke of Holstein: and in 1542 the Danish order of things was adopted in Schleswig-Holstein, save that consistories took the place of 'bishops' (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 353 sqq.: Münter, iii. 599 sqq.).

In **Norway**, whose independence was now to disappear by the [No. 133] **Manifesto** of 30 Oct. 1536 (*ap. Willson, Church and State in Norway*, 343), Christian III was at first recognized only in the south: the north held out for the imprisoned Christian II and the old faith under Olaf, Archbishop of Trondhjem 1523-37, who had, at this time, four suffragans in Norway, the Bishops of Bergen, Hamar, Opslo (Christiania), and Stavanger, and two in Iceland, Holm, and Skalholt. But on 1 April, 1537, Archbishop Olaf fled to Lierre (where he died 7 March 1538); and, 1 May, the King's forces landed at Bergen. Their leader, Truid Ulfstand, following up the Recess of 30 Oct. 1536, effected, 23 June [No. 134], the arrest of the Bishop of Hamar (from a contemporary source *ap. Willson, op. cit.* 347), and of the other prelates. Then followed confiscation and the substitution of 'superintendents' as in Denmark.

In **Iceland** (Münter, iii. 530) Gisser Einarssen became 'bishop' of Skalholt, 1540, and laboured to reform the Church, after the Danish model, till his death in 1548. There was a reaction, headed by John Arensen, Bishop of Holm, 1520-150. But he was executed as a traitor at Skalholt, 7 Nov. 1550: and 'the last representatives of Catholicism disappeared from Iceland in 1552' (Ranke, *Popes*, i. 396).

No. 131. The Seizure of the Bishops of Denmark,
12 Aug. 1536.

After I had written yesterday the enclosed letter to Your Grace and had sent Your Grace's four ships home, I was not able to come to an agreement with my sailors as to their pay, as they did not wish to accept Danish coin on leaving. And whilst I was in treaty with them about it, His Royal Majesty sent a summons for me to appear at his Council, where Colonels of the Landsknechts, Generals, and Cavalry Officers, with Herr Johann Rantzau and Melchior Rantzau, were present, and had consulted how His Royal Majesty should proceed with his cause, because the bishops would do nothing at all as to the payment of the cavalry and infantry. It was therefore, in God's name, determined immediately to take the bishops by the head, which was to be done, in all secrecy, at night, so that to-day quite early at 4 a.m. the three Bishops of Sjælland¹, Skaane², and Ribe³ were arrested by the Provost and the Landsknechts, and forthwith lodged in the castle at Copenhagen, each under a guard of Archers and Yeomen of the Guard, in separate rooms. At the same moment that they were taken, Copenhagen was put under guard by land and sea, so that no one could go out or come in without special permission.

This went on until the third day at 8 a.m. when His Royal Majesty summoned to himself at the Castle the other members of the Council, Herr Magnus Goye, Herr Ove Lunge, Herr Magnus Gyldenstjerne, Erik Krummedige, Mester Johann Friis, &c., and also the Bishop of Aarhus⁴, for the consideration of this affair. Those who now agreed with the King and the aforementioned Councillors were in no danger, and those who did not were to be at once arrested; but I think they will all give in.

In the meantime, the King will not decide finally on the alterations in the government before the appointed Rigsdag, of which I have spoken in my first letter. Meanwhile, His Majesty will summon his nobles and friends, including Your Grace, to the Council about this matter. The other old Councillors, like Herr Anders Bilde, Herr Johann Urne, &c., who have been imprisoned at Mecklenburg, will, according to the

¹ Joakim Rönnov, Bishop of Roskilde, 1512-36. He appears not to have been seized till next day. [See below.]

² Torbern Bilde, Archbishop of Lund, 1532-6.

³ Olaf Munk, Coadjutor of Iwar Munk, Bishop of Ribe, 1513-†39.

⁴ Ove Bilde, Bishop of Aarhus, 1520-36.

treaty of peace, be given into the King's hands and keeping at Holstein, so that they will not be able to give any trouble.

Most of the young nobility, the citizens of Copenhagen and other places and the Bønder are well satisfied, and greatly rejoice at these doings; and the military also are very well pleased. May God grant to His Royal Highness success in this as in all his undertakings!

The imprisoned bishops here are to be sent to Holstein under strict guard; and also to-day the ships and soldiers are gone to Fyen¹ and Jylland² to seize the other bishops. The King has also sent some cavalry to-day to seize the bishop³ at Dragsholm Castle, and to Skaane to take the bishop's⁴ palaces. Herr Johann Rantzau will do the same at Jylland. If Dragsholm will not submit to the King, artillery and Landsknechts will be sent to take it by force.

No. 132. The Recess of the Diet of Copenhagen, 30 Oct. 1536.

Nos Christianus Dei gratia electus Rex Daniae et Norvegiae, Dux Slesvici, Holsatiae, Stormariae et Ditmarsiae, Comes in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst: et nos . . . Daniae Regni Consilarii: et nos infra scripti . . . universa Nobilitas et Equestris Ordo . . . per totum Daniae regnum: atque itidem nos infra memorati cives urbani omnium Civitatum per totum Daniae regnum . . . cum delegatis, plena auctoritate instructis ex omnibus civitatibus et pagis (vulgo Herredis) per totum Daniae regnum, ad haec praesentia comitia Hafniae congregatis. . .

Primo, volumus Nos Christianus &c., nosque Danici regni Consilarii et Nobiles, omne illud odii . . . quod . . . erga civitates, cives urbanos, rusticos et plebem habuerimus; et nos pariter Civitates, cives urbani, rustici et universa plebs, omne illud quod . . . in Regiam Maiestatem . . . vel in regni Danici Senatores et Nobilitatem gesserimus seditum . . . fore: et nos posthac utpote quibus regnum hoc . . . conservare summum studium erit . . . amice . . . invicem acturos, alteramque partem alterius . . . saluti consulturos esse: atque, si forte periculum ingruat . . . singulos et unumquemque nostrum

¹ Fünen, where was the bishop of Odense (Knaud Gyldenstjerne, Bishop 1530-168).

² Jutland, where were the bishoprics of Aarhus, Viborg (Georg Fries, Bp. 1524-36); Borglum (Krumpen Stygge, Bp. 1519-36), and Ribe.

³ sc. of Roskilde.

⁴ sc. the Archbishop of Lund.

vitam suam et facultates omnes in id impensuros ut hanc nostram patriam regnumque ab omnis generis aggressionem . . . imprimis contra Imperatorem Romanum, contra Christiannum Regem eiusque partium studiosos . . . summa opera defensuros esse. . . .

Et quoniam nobis omnibus et singulis per hoc regnum certum et exploratum est, omne illud incommodum, damnum et excidium, cum sanguinis effusione, caedibus, incendiis &c. ceteraque regno exitiosa mala, quibus in tertium usque annum conflictatum, praesertim inde fuisse derivata quod inter Episcopos eorumque partibus addictos et Nobilitatem discordiae et dissensiones exstiterint, quodque Episcopi huius regni iusto tempore, prout par erat, ac prout ipsos facere merito oportebat, Regem non designaverint, verum potius hoc ipsum ne ab excessu Regis Frederici fieret, summa opera impediverint; neque per eos licuerit isto tempore propter immanem eorum potestatem, vim, auctoritatem, clientum numerum, insolentiam denique et libidinem, ad ordinandum reipublicae statum Regiumque constituendum imperium, quo ius et aequum omnibus praestaretur, pervenire. . . .

Itaque Nos universi et singuli, post tempestivam deliberationem . . . constituimus . . . ut ab hoc usque tempore non perpetuum iidem illi Episcopi, ob eiusmodi iam memorata crimina et facinora depositi, nunquam ad Episcopalem suum dominatum, aut ad dioeceses et dioecesium bona sint redituri; neque illi ipsorum similes, aut alii pro Episcopis se gerentes ad imperium ecclesiasticum in regno exercendum accipiendi, proponendi, eligendi aut admittendi sint; sed omnino ac prorsus existant et maneant abrogati.

Attamen alii pii et Christianorum morum Episcopi seu Superintendentes (quorum officium esto multitudinem instituire, coetusque sibi commissos sacrosancti Evangelii et verbi Divini expositione ad rectam Christianae fidei cognitionem perducere) ordinantur.

Et quoniam Episcopi in hoc regno existentes in hunc usque diem Divino verbo et Evangelio restiterunt, atque ne idem coetibus et multitudini pure et incorrupte annuntiaretur, impediverunt; insuper vitam munere Episcopali dignam . . . neutiquam egerunt; potius autem secularem fastum et pompam sunt consecrati, usque adeo ut in toto regno aegre duo fuerint inventi, qui appellationem ab officio suo saltem admittere aut Episcopale nomen gerere voluerint; neque minus quod, ut

dictum, causa nuperae seditionis exstiterint unde . . . abrogati sunt, nec vel ii vel alii eorum similes Episcopi cum eiusmodi potestate et dominatu posthac admittendi erunt: igitur, quo Corona regni et Rex Daniae virium accessione augeatur . . . neque adeo necessum sit amplius, . . . casu quodam imminente, universos regni incolas tributis, sicut iam factum, onerare; unanimes et communi consensu decrevimus et sancivimus ut omnia dioecesium Episcopaliū bona, arces, villae, castra, praedia fundique rustici, quorum possessione, usu et fructibus Episcopi sunt gavisī, posthac cum omnibus redditibus, proveniētibz et ceteris quae ad ea pertinent, in Regis sustentationem publicumque regni commodum et emolumentum cedant, et in perpetuum Coronae Daniae subiiciantur. . .

Itidem in omnes Praesulatus, beneficia, dignitates Ecclesiasticas aliaque id genus feuda, quorum concedendorum potestas antehac penes Coronam regni, Regem et Episcopos fuit, ius patronatus posthac Rex habeto, possideto et retineto. Pariter Nobilitas et equestris ordo ad templa et feuda ecclesiastica iure illo patronatus, quod sibi legitime competere et hucusque ad se pertinuisse litterarum et sigillorum fide possint commonstrare, utuntor fruuntorque.

Hoc tamen ita amplius intelligendum ut homines feuda eiusmodi clientelari iure tenentes, eisdem, quoad vixerint, fruantur; post excessum vero hominum beneficia ecclesiastica dicto iure possidentium, cuicumque equestris ordinis viro aut nobili in hoc regno liberum sit praedia illa et fundos recuperare, quorum legitimos se heredes esse sufficientibus litterarum et sigillorum testimoniis confirmare possint. Omnia autem coenobia, omnesque praesulatus, dignitates et beneficia, canonicatus, ceteraque Ecclesiarum feuda, hisce non expressa, in statu suo conservantor, donec Rex et Senatores regni Daniae cum aliis sapientibus doctisque viris, in consilium istud advocandis, aliter de iisdem constituerint: cuicumque tamen iure suo salvo et integro prorsus manente. Monachis liberum concessumque esto ex Monasteriis exire, quotquot in iis nolunt ulterius aetatem degere: qui vero porro cupiunt ibidem commorari, superioribus suis, Abbatibus, Prioribus aut Praepositis monasteriorum obedientes . . . sunt, vitamque monasticam agunto, castitate et integritate, Christianis hominibus digna, coniunctam; aut monasteriis exeunto: ii etiam qui intra claustra coenobiorum aetatem sunt traducturi, divinum Verbum, publicis ibi concionibus exponendum, audiunto. Neque utique illis licentia aut facultas posthac esto,

sine Regis et Senatus regni . . . consensu aliquid praediorum, fundorum et possessionum ad monasteria pertinentium, abalienandi, vendendi vel oppignerandi.

Et quoniam plebs et commune rusticorum se gravatum supra modum sentit variarum rerum exactionibus ac tributis quae sub diversis nominibus, muneris Episcopalis, avenae, oblationis butyri aliorumque esculentorum, frumenti pro aratione et similium, ab ecclesiasticis imposita, eisdem consueverunt pendere: de eo inter nos convenit ut rustici et universa plebs per totum regnum posthac decimam quamque mergitem tritici, siliginis, hordei, avenae omnisque generis frumenti quod divino beneficio ex agris provenit, recte et absque dolo pendant ac repraesentent, decimam etiam ex pecoribus, veteri ex consuetudine: in Hallandia vero, Blekingia atque Listria, ubicunque frumenti decimae non praestantur, butyrum aut aliud, quod antiquitus apud eos obtinuit, decimarum loco adferant: neque alio quocunque onere, sive oblationes esculentorum et butyri, sive cetera id genus supra recitata fuerint, a pastoribus ecclesiarum graventur.

At vero, Episcopis nunc depositis atque abrogatis, quoniam omnino opus futurum, cum viros quosdam constitui, singulari doctrina praeditos, quorum officium erit animadvertere ac attendere ut omnes paroeciarum sacerdotes per totum regnum conciones habeant, iisque verbum Dei et Evangelium coetus suos doceant; tum ut ludii aperiuntur conserventurque, ubi adolescentes in Latina aliisque linguis instituuntur ne desideretur in regno virorum eruditorum copia: talibus autem viris doctis alendis et sustentandis volumus praedictam decimam per totum regnum attribui, in tres utique partes dividendam. Primam eius partem sacerdos paroeciae obtineto: secunda aedi sacrae dator: tertia Regi ceditur, quippe cuius erit memoratis viris doctis de alimentis vitaeque necessariis prospicere. . . .

No. 132 a. Ordinatio Ecclesiastica, 2 Sept. 1537.

(1) *From the King's Preface.*—Christianus Dei gratia &c. Postquam Dominus Deus nobis avitum paternumque regnum tradidit, sopitis bellorum tumultibus, nihil prius in votis erat quam collapsam Christi doctrinam et religionem instaurare, quemadmodum et iamdudum pro nostris terris cupieramus. Donec voti compotes facti sumus; sit Christo gratia! Convocatis igitur Doctoribus et praedicatoribus ecclesiarum, ex Daniae regno et Ducatibus nostris, mandavimus ut ordina-

tionem aliquam sacram nobis conscriberent, de qua consultaremus.

Hanc acceptam misimus ad R. P. D. Martinum Lutherum : per quem Dei clementia hisce novissimis temporibus nobis restituit sacri Evangelii Christi sinceritatem. Is cum aliis qui Vittembergae sunt Theologis eam approbavit. Ut vero hoc divinum negotium recte gereretur, rogavimus Illustrissimum Principem Ioannem Fridericum Ducem Saxoniae, Electorem &c., amicū nostrum summum, ut mitteret ad nos dilectum nobis Ioannem Bugenhagium Pomeranum, S. T. D. Huius viri consilio et opera cum nostris consiliariis usi sumus, in Ordinatione hac sacra conficienda, ut sciatis non temere sed tot et tantis arbitris hic nos egisse. Porro perfectam Ordinationem obtulimus, per Cancellarium nostrum, Regni consiliariis : hi probarunt susceperuntque omnia quae ordinatio habet : tantum rogaverunt ut admonerentur praedicatores, quo in principio modestius coram Ecclesia agerent cum illis peccatoribus qui pro tempore prohibendi sunt a sacramento Coenae Dominicae. Et cui haec non placerent, modo sit Christianus ? . . . Contra Evangelium et institutionem Christi nullus est audiendus, *ne angelus quidem e caelo*, ut Paulus dicere audet : et Christus ait, *oves meae non norunt vocem alienorum, sed fugiunt ab eis*.

Quid hic stulti expectamus Concilia, ut moriamur interim in infidelitate et impietate nostra ? Concilia aut humanae ordinationes hic nihil possunt contra ordinationem divinam. Si Concilia damnarent doctrinas Daemoniorum et traditiones Antichristianas, quibus hactenus seducti sumus, et iuberent Evangelium sincere doceri et sacramenta tradi, secundum Christi institutionem et Apostolicam doctrinam, ut nunc nos facimus hoc Concilio nostro et ordinatione : impii essent et non Christiani qui non amplecterentur. Sed talia iamdudum frustra expectavimus. At aiunt : Evangelium non prohibemus, sed deberetis expectare nostram sententiam de vestra doctrina, num sit verum Evangelium. Respondemus : Nihil moramur, quod sic ludunt verbis et calumniantur. Apud nos verum Evangelium est, quod praedicat afflictis conscientiiis gratuitam remissionem peccatorum, propter solum Christum filium Dei pro nobis traditum. Ablato peccato reputamur iusti a Deo, sumus filii Dei et heredes vitae aeternae et omnium Dei bonorum, dilecti a Patre in aeternum, in Dilecto Filio Dei quem per fidem suscepimus. Hunc Pater nobis dedit, quomodo non in illo donaret nobis omnia ? Non est aliud Evangelium. Pro hoc Evangelio gloriae Dei Antichristiana factio

reddidit nobis doctrinas daemoniorum, in hypocrisi, id est, maxima religionis specie docentium vel praedicantium mendacium, satisfactiones, statuta, regulas, observantias, indulgentias, peregrinationes, fraternitates, sacrificia excogitata, missales abominationes, purgatorium, aquam benedictam, leges ieiuniorum, murmura horarum canonicarum, vigiliis mortuorum, loca sancta, baptismum campanarum, unctiones, rasuras, vestes sacras, impurissimum coelibatum, abiurationem a Deo creati et instituti coniugii, prohibitiones ciborum, prohibitionem calicis Christi, invocationem sanctorum, abusum omnium operum et ceremoniarum, quibus nos docebant placare Deum et satisfacere pro peccatis et mereri remissionem peccatorum. Confitebantur, ut Paulus ait, se nosse Deum, sed his doctrinis et factis negabant verum Evangelium, sanguinem Iesu Christi et misericordiam Dei Patris, hoc est, gratuitam remissionem peccatorum propter solum Christum. Haec mendacia Antichristi nunc remittimus Satanae, unde venerunt: et damus gloriam Deo, recepto vero Christi Evangelio. Sacramenta verò et damus et accipimus, secundum Christi institutionem; accipimus autem ab ipso D. N. I. C., licet per manum ministri; sicut et Evangelium ab ipso, licet per os ministri sive praedicatoris. Quid hic deest nobis quominus habeamus Evangelium verum? . . .

Mandamus igitur omnibus subditis nostris . . . ut hasce Dei et nostras ordinationes, quas iussimus per Typographum in vulgari, suscipiant, servant, tueantur, quisque pro modo suo: et Praefectis nostris, cum Superintendentibus, ut quam primum licet, in Civitatibus et Pagis quae ordinata sunt, exsequantur et servari curent. Reputate vero cum animis vestris, si Dei ordinationi, quae est potestas gladii, resistentes, sibi ipsis iudicium et damnationem accipiunt, ut ait Paulus, maiore damnatione iudicandos, qui Dei ordinationem, Evangelium D. N. I. C. contempserint aut illi restiterint; id quod Moses praedixit: qui *Prophetam illum*, id est, Christum *non audierit, ego ultor existam, dicit Dominus*.

Neque etiam per nos impune fecerit, quisquis his ordinationibus temere restiterit, id quod faciemus secundum potestatem nobis a Deo datam. D. N. I. C. conservet vos in aeternum.

Datum Hassniae, in Castro nostro, A.D. MDXXXVII, secunda Septembris: qua die publice ordinati sunt dioecesium Superintendentes.

(2) From the *Ritus instituendi ministros*.—*Est autem Ordinatio nihil aliud quam ritus ecclesiasticus, vocandi aliquem in*

ministerium Verbi et Sacramentorum. Nemo enim per se, non vocatus rite, subire ministerium in Ecclesia debet, aut parochiam invadere . . .

. . . Suscipiat eum [sc. electum presbyterum] Superattendens in templum civitatis, ubi habitat, et coram altari publice sic eum ordinet, hac ceremonia :

Primum, post lectam Epistolam in Missa, unus ex presbyteris ascendat suggestum, et dicat, *illum virum, N. vocatum ab ecclesia N. ad publicum sacri Evangelii ministerium, habere bonum testimonium vitae, apud illam ecclesiam, probatum ab Episcopo in doctrina sincera ; Nunc ordinandum ad hoc illius ecclesiae officium coram altari, sacra lectione, exhortatione, manuum impositione, et oratione. Idcirco exhortari se ut populus interim oret et commendet ministrum cum ministerio Deo ut hoc cedat in gloriam Dei et salutem multorum ; nec minus gratias agat Deo per Christum, quod praedicatores suae Ecclesiae mittit ; siquidem haec sunt dona quae Christus ascendens suae donavit ecclesiae, ut est Eph. iv. [8] Ascendens in altum, &c.*

Deinde cantante schola, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, Latine, coram altari geniculatur ordinandus, cum aliquot presbyteris qui adesse possunt ; et Superattendens stans ad altare, dicat Collectam, *Deus qui corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus, &c.* Deinde, versus ad populum, legat sacram lectionem de episcopis, ex Epistola ad Titum, vulgari sermone. Post lectionem, proponat ordinando mandata de Evangelio sincere praedicando et de Sacramentis recte administrandis ; deinde ut recte doceat de poenitentia, de cruce, de magistratu et obedientia, de bonis operibus, et resistat per sanam doctrinam erroribus, et ut diligenter studeat sacris litteris, sit quoque assiduus in oratione. Ad quae omnia, aperta voce, coram omnibus respondeat, sese haec diligenter curaturum secundum gratiam Dei.

Deinde Episcopus sive Superattendens cum presbyteris imponat ordinando manus, et oret aperta voce vulgariter, *Pater noster* ; et addat Collectam, ad hoc factam, sine tono : et in fine iubeat totam ecclesiam respondere *Amen*. Mox canitur vulgariter *Nunc precamur Sanctum Spiritum*, integre cum omnibus versibus. Interim Superattendens geniculatur coram altari, et orat secreto. Finito vero primo versu cantici, surgit et stat altare versus et simul surgunt alii presbyteri cum ordinato : et ordinatus accipit sibi locum non procul ab altari, ut accipiat communionem sacram ; ad quam prae ceteris tunc primus debet accedere.

Ita hoc totum negotium Ordinationis perficitur, secundum dictum Pauli ; *Creatura sanctificatur per Verbum et Orationem.*

(3) From the *Ritus Ordinationis Superintendentis*.—Hisce ceremoniis ordinabitur publice Superintendentens, dominica die aut festo.

Lecta Epistola in Missa aliquis Praedicator vel Praepositus, consensu suggestu, dicit populo, *N. esse electum in Superattendentem, pium virum, industrium, modestum, doctum, &c. Ideo se admonere ut orent pro eo et verbi ministerio, Pater noster, &c.*

Mox canitur *Veni, Sancte, &c.* Interim ingreditur populus ad chorum, vel prope, ut licet. Ordinator autem, propius accedens ad populum ut possit exaudiri, indutus superpelliceo et cappa choralis, ut vocant, cum ordinando, induto superpelliceo, et aliis presbyteris, superpelliceo indutis, qui adesse possunt, iubet primum orari, *Pater noster*; ut adsit Deus huic negotio. Mox surgens et stans commendat brevibus: *Ministerium verbi sanctissimum, utilissimum, necessarium, &c. Magno praeconio Spiritus Sanctus in Paulo laudat hoc ministerium, Ecclesiae a Christo glorificato datum, dicens: Ascendens Christus in altum, dedit hominibus dona, quosdam Apostolos, alios Evangelistas, &c. ita ut, si huc respicias, merito inter festa Christi nobis festum Pentecostes debeat esse maximum. Nascitur quidem Christus, patitur et resurgit; sed quid mundo prodesset iste thesaurus nisi in festo Pentecostes et postea usque ad finem mundi, praedicatores et doctores verbi faceret, qui thesaurum mundo per verbum distribuerent, de quibus ait, Qui vos audit? &c. Igitur pro hac dioecesi electus est hic N. vir bonus, pius, &c.*

Inde canitur Psalmus, *Domine, Dominus noster, &c.* Ex quo mox unum et alterum versum Ordinator interpretatur, de Christi praedicatoribus et regno Christi, brevissime. Debet enim Ordinator cavere, ne prolixitate taedio afficiatur populus, et contemnat hoc negotium.

Mox legit Superintendenti officia ipsius, ex Ordinatione; maxime ex capite de victu et salario Superintendentum . . . et postea mandat ei *ut sincere doceat Evangelium, id est, remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam in Christo Iesu filio Dei solum; item, de caritate, cruce, poenitentia, magistratu, obedientia ex verbo Dei; item, de sacramentis ex Christi institutione, non aliud aut aliter. Promittis?* Respondet, *Promitto.* Ordinator addit: *Da dexteram;* et ille dat.

Sequitur statim Psalmus qui canitur, *Ecce nunc benedicite Domino, &c.* Post Psalmum dicit Ordinator: *Vobis pastoribus canitur hic Psalmus, ut levetis manus, id est, oretis et benedicatis Domino, id est, praedicetis benedictionem in semine Abraham*

Christo, &c. etiam noctu, non solum in die, id est, assidue et cum summa diligentia, ita contra regnum Satanæ agentes.

Et pergat sic dicens: *Hactenus cecinimus sacra cantica et Psalmos, commendantes officium verbi; nunc de eodem audiamus, et sacras lectiones.*

Hic aliquis ex presbyteris recitet lectionem: *Sic dicit Paulus Episcopo, Tit. i. [5-16].*

Secundus presbyter statim recitet lectionem alteram: *Actorum xx. Paulus valedicens presbyteris Ephesiorum dicit [25-37].*

Tertius presbyter mox subiungat tertiam lectionem: *2 Tim. iv. dicit Paulus ad praedicatorum [1-5].*

Post has lectiones Ordinator dicit: *Haec omnia admonent officii sui praedicatores et simul declarant quam placeat Deo hoc officium, et necessarium sit Ecclesiae. Nam per praedicatorem suum Christus ipse praedicat, baptizat, dat Sacramentum, arguit, exhortatur, consolatur, quae maxima est nostri consolatio in isto ingrato et contemptore mundo, &c. Pergit vero sic dicens: Post haec omnia scire debetis omnes quod haec ordinatio sanctificatur per haec duo, nempe per verbum et orationem; ut et quaelibet creatura ad usum et ministerium nostrum; id quod Paulus sic dicit: Omnis creatura Dei bona est ad utendum cum gratiarum actione fidelibus, et qui noverint veritatem. Sanctificatur enim per verbum et orationem. Haec Paulus.*

Verbum, quo nobis commendatur et sanctificatur hoc ministerium, apostolicum audistis, tametsi praeterea multa alia scripta sunt. Nunc ergo, ut perficiatur haec sanctificatio, addamus et alterum, nempe orationem.

Cum de omnibus orare debemus, maxime opus est ut oremus pro praedicatoribus et ministerio verbi. Nam, ut dicitur Lucae vi. [12], *Christus tota nocte oravit, quando mane ordinaturus erat XII Apostolos. Item alibi dicit: Rogate dominum messis, &c.*

Orationi etiam addebant Apostoli et Seniores Ecclesiae manuum impositionem, cum ordinarent vel mitterent praedicatores, ut vides in Actis. Quem morem susceperunt postea Ecclesiae Christi ab Apostolis, quemadmodum Paulus hortatur Episcopum, dicens: *1 Tim. v. [22] Manus ne cito alicui imponas. De praedicatoribus et doctoribus ecclesiarum haec dicuntur, non de Missariis. Olim hostiis manus imponebantur, ut vides in Lege Moysis. Scitote et hic nos Deo offerre ad sacrum ministerium eos quibus manus imponimus.*

Hoc ergo et nos, ab Apostolis docti, hic faciemus, in nomine D. N. I. C.

Hic Ordinator, cum presbyteris et senioribus, imponit capiti

eius manus, et dicit aperte: *Oremus. Pater noster*, &c. Et addit: *Omnipotens aeterne Pater, qui ita nos docuisti per unigenitum Filium tuum, unicum Magistrum nostrum, Messis est multa, operarii vero pauci, rogate ergo dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam: quae verba nos admonent bonos operarios, id est, praedicatores et ecclesiarum doctores a tua gratia seria et fideli prece petendos: nos tuam immensam bonitatem precamur ut clementer respicias hunc famulum tuum quem ad episcopale ecclesiae officium eligimus, ut sit diligens in verbo tuo, ad praedicandum unicum nostram salutem Iesum Christum, ad docendas conscientias, ad consolandum, ad monendum, et arguendum cum omni patientia et doctrina, ita ut sacrosanctum Evangelium perpetuo apud nos duret, sincerum et sine fermento humanae doctrinae et fructum ferat nobis omnibus aeternae salutis; per eundem I. C., Filium tuum, D. N. Respondetur ab omnibus: Amen.*

Et statim canitur Danice: *Nunc rogamus Spiritum Sanctum, propter fidem rectam maxime*, &c.

Interim procumbit Ordinator coram altari, cum ordinato et aliis presbyteris; et orant, dum cantatur primus cantici versus. Deinde surgunt, et vadit quisque in locum suum, ut postea, cum aliis fidelibus, accipiant sacram Christi communionem in hac Domini Coena.

Omnia praedicta dicantur et legantur Danice, ut Ecclesia intelligat. Psalmi cantentur Latine. Sequitur enim brevis expositio ex Psalmis, vulgari sermone, eorum quae huc pertinent.

Cum legitur ultima Collecta in hac Coena Dominica, accedentes procumbant rursum ad altare, et suscipiant ultimam illam et consuetam benedictionem; utcumque non ipsis tantum, sed toti ecclesiae annuncietur et detur.

Finis Ordinationis Superintendentis.

No. 133. The Manifesto of Christian III, 30 Oct. 1536.

§ 3. Because the kingdom of Norway is now so bereft of power and wealth, and the people of the kingdom of Norway are not able alone to support a lord and king for themselves, and this same kingdom is yet bound to remain for ever with the crown of Denmark, and most of the council of the kingdom of Norway, especially Archbishop Olaf, who is now the greatest man in the kingdom, within a short time has twice, with the most part of the council of Norway, fallen from the kingdom of Denmark, contrary to their plighted faith: We have therefore promised

and vowed to the council and nobles of the kingdom of Denmark that if God Almighty so ordain it, that this same kingdom of Norway or any of its dependencies, castles, or districts, should fall under our authority, or be conquered by us, so shall they hereafter be and remain under the crown of Denmark, as are one of these other countries, Jylland, Fyen, Sjaelland or Skaane, and not hereafter be or be called a separate kingdom, but a dependency of the kingdom of Denmark, and under its crown always. But if any strife should arise from this, the council and people of the kingdom of Denmark shall be bound faithfully to help to support us in it.

**No. 134. The arrest of Magnus Lauritssen, 1520-†43,
last Bishop of Hamar, 23 June 1537.**

As Herr Truid and the bishop went together to Strandbakken, he fell on his knees and thanked God in heaven for every day he had lived. Then he bade good night to the canons and the priests, then to his cathedral and cloister, then to his chief men, to the common people, both townsmen and bønder, entreating them all to pray heartily for him, and said he hoped he would soon come to them again. But added, 'O God our heavenly Father, if not before, grant that we may meet one another in heaven.' This prayer he uttered with many tears and added, 'Vale! Vale! Vale!'

XXXIX

THE FOUNDING OF THE JESUITS BY PAUL III

While the Emperor was contemplating concession the Pope was induced, by the conciliatory Contarini (Letter to Loyola, 3 Sept. 1539, *ap. Genelli, Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 164, tr. Meyrick), to give his sanction to the militant 'Company of Jesus' founded by Ignatius Loyola, 1491-†1556. The Society was thus in time the first, as in operation the most effective, instrument of the Counter-Reformation. For the events which led to the [No. 135] **Bull Regimini militantis ecclesiae** (*Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, i. 743 sqq.), and for the early history of the Society, see Ranke, *Popes*, Bk. I, §§ 4, 7: and Philippon, *La Contre-révolution religieuse*, Livre I. The limit of § 16 was removed by *Iniunctum nobis*, of 14 March 1543.

No. 135. The Bull Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae.

Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae, meritis licet imparibus, disponente Domino, praesidentes et animarum salutem, prout ex

debito-pastoralis officii tenemur, sollicitis studiis exquirentes, fideles quoslibet qui vota sua in id exponunt Apostolici favoris gratia confovemus, aliasque desuper disponimus, prout temporum et locorum qualitate pensata, id Domino conspicimus salubriter expedire.

§ 1. Nuper siquidem accepimus quod dilecti filii Ignatius de Loyola¹ et Petrus Faber² ac Iacobus Laynez³ necnon Claudius Iayus⁴ et Paschasius Broet⁵ ac Franciscus Xaviere⁶ necnon Alphonsus Salmeron⁷ et Simon Rodericus⁸ ac Ioannes Coduri⁹ et Nicolaus de Bobadilla,¹⁰ presbyteri Pampilonen. Gebennen. Seguntin. Toletanen. Visen. Ebredunen. et Palentin.¹¹ civitatum et dioecesium respective, in artibus Magistri in Universitate Parisiensi graduati et in theologicis studiis per plures annos exercitati, Spiritu sancto (ut pie creditur) afflati, iam dudum e diversis mundi regionibus descendentes in unum convenerunt et socii effecti, abdicatis huius saeculi illecebris, eorum vitam perpetuo D. N. I. C. atque nostro et aliorum successorum nostrorum Romanorum Pontificum servitio dedicaverunt, et iam quamplurimis annis laudabiliter in vinea Domini se exercuerunt, Verbum Dei praevia sufficienti licentia publice praedicando, fideles privatim ad bene beateque vivendum exhortando, et ad pias meditationes excitando, hospitalibus inseruiendo, pueros et personas rudes ea quae ad Christianam hominis institutionem sunt necessaria docendo, et demum omnia charitatis officia et quae ad animarum consolationem faciunt, ubique terrarum ubi peregrinati sunt, multa cum laude obeundo.

§ 2. Cumque ad hanc almam Urbem se contulerint, et in charitatis vinculo persistentes ad perficiendam et conservandam eorum Societatis in Christo unionem, quandam vivendi formulam iuxta ea quae ad propositum sibi finem conducere usu didicerunt, evangelicis consiliis et canonicis patrum sanctionibus conformem ediderint, factum est ut ipsorum sociorum vitae institutum, sub dicta formula comprehensum, non solum a

¹ Ignatius Loyola, of Pamplona.

² Pierre Lefèvre, † 1546, a Savoyard, dio. Geneva.

³ J. Laynez, † 1565, a Spaniard, of Almazan, in Castille.

⁴ Claude Le Jay, † 1552, a Savoyard, of Aise, dio. Geneva.

⁵ P. Broet, † 1562, a Frenchman, of Brétancourt, near Amiens.

⁶ F. Xaviere, † 1552, a Spaniard, of Pamplona.

⁷ A. Salmeron, † 1585, a Spaniard, of Toledo.

⁸ S. Rodriguez, a Portuguese, of Buzella, near Visen.

⁹ J. Codure, † 1541, a Frenchman, of Embrun, in the Dauphiné.

¹⁰ Nicholas Alphonso, † 1590, a Spaniard, of Bobadilla.

¹¹ Pamplona, Geneva, Segovia, Toledo, Visen, Embrun, and Palencia.

multis probis viris et Deum zelantibus laudetur, verum etiam a quibusdam ita approbetur ut illud etiam sequi velint.

§ 3. Formulae autem praedictae tenor sequitur, et est talis.

§ 4. Quicumque in *Societate* nostra quam *Iesu* nomine insigniri cupimus vult sub crucis vexillo Deo militare et soli Domino, atque Romano Pontifici, eius in terris Vicario, servire, post solemne perpetuae castitatis votum, proponat sibi in animo se partem esse Societatis ad hoc potissimum institutae ut ad profectum animarum in vita et doctrina Christiana et ad fidei propagationem per publicas praedicationes et verbi Dei ministerium, spiritualia exercitia et charitatis opera et nominatim per puerorum ac rudium in Christianismi institutionem ac Christifidelium in confessionibus audiendis spiritualem consolationem praecipue intendat, curetque primo Deum, deinde huius instituti rationem, quae via quaedam est ad illum, semper ante oculos habere et finem hunc sibi a Deo propositum totis viribus assequi. Unusquisque tamen secundum gratiam sibi a Spiritu sancto subministratam, et vocationis suae proprium gradum, ne quis forte zelo utatur sed non secundum scientiam: cuius proprii cuiusque gradus iudicium et officiorum discretio ac distributio tota sit in manu Praepositi seu Praelati per nos eligendi, ut congruus ordo servetur in omni bene instituta communitate necessarius.

§ 5. Qui quidem Praepositus de consilio consociorum constitutiones ad constructionem huius propositi nobis finis conducentes in consilio condendi auctoritatem habeat, maiori suffragiorum parte semper statuendi ius habente. Consilium vero intelligatur esse in rebus quidem gravioribus ac perpetuis maior pars totius Societatis quae a Praeposito commode convocari poterit, in levioribus autem et temporaneis omnes illi quos in loco ubi Praepositus noster residebit praesentes esse contigerit; iubendi autem ius totum penes Praepositum erit.

§ 6. Sciant omnes socii et non solum in primis professionis suae foribus sed quoad vixerint quotidie animo volvant Societatem hanc universam et singulos sub S. D. N. Papae et aliorum Romanorum Pontificum successorum eius fidei obedientia Deo militare, et quamvis evangelio doceatur et fide orthodoxa cognoscamus ac firmiter profiteamur omnes Christifideles Romano Pontifici tanquam capiti ac I. C. Vicario subesse, ad maiorem tamen nostrae Societatis humilitatem ac perfectam uniuscuiusque mortificationem, et voluntatumstrarum abnegationem summo opere conducere iudicavimus singulos nos, ultra illud commune vinculum, speciali voto

adstringi. Ita ut quicquid modernus et alii Romani Pontifices pro tempore existentes iusserint, ad profectum animarum et fidei propagationem pertinens, et ad quascumque provincias nos mittere voluerit sine ulla tergiversatione aut excusatione illico quantum in nobis fuerit exequi teneamur, sive miserit nos ad Turcas sive ad quoscumque alios infideles etiam in partibus quas Indias vocant existentes, sive ad quoscumque haereticos seu schismaticos seu etiam ad quosvis fideles. Quamobrem qui ad nos accessuri sunt, et antequam huic oneri humeros supponant, diu multumque meditentur an tantum pecuniae spiritualis in bonis habeant ut turrin hanc iuxta consilium Dominicum possint consummare; hoc est, an Spiritus sanctus qui illos impellit tantum illis gratiae polliceatur ut huius vocationis pondus, illo adiuvante, se laturos sperent, et postquam Domino inspirante huic Iesu Christi militiae nomen dederint, die noctuque succincti lumbos et ad tam grandis debiti solutionem prompti esse debebunt.

§ 7. Ne qua autem possit esse inter nos missionum ac provinciarum huiusmodi aut ambitio vel detractio, profiteantur singuli se numquam directe aut indirecte de huiusmodi missionibus quicquam cum Romano Pontifice curaturos, sed omnem hanc curam Deo et ipsi Pontifici, tanquam eius Vicario, et Societatis Praeposito dimissuros. Qui Praepositus sicut caeteri etiam profiteatur se nihil de suimet ipsius missione in alterutram partem, nisi de Societatis consilio, cum dicto Pontifice esse curaturum.

§ 8. Voveant singuli se in omnibus quae ad Regulae huius nostrae observationem faciunt, obedientes fore Societatis Praeposito.

§ 9. Ille autem iubeat ea quae ad constructionem propositi sibi a Deo et a Societate finis cognoverit esse opportuna; in praelatione autem sua benignitatis ac mansuetudinis charitatisque Christi Petri Paulique formulae semper sit memor et tam ipse quam consilium ad normam hanc assidue spectent. Et nominatim commendatam habeant institutionem puerorum ac rudium in Christiana doctrina decem praeceptorum, atque aliorum similium rudimentorum quaecumque secundum circumstantias personarum, locorum ac temporum illis congrua videbuntur. Etenim maxime necessarium circa providentiam huius rei diligenter Praepositum et Consilium vigilare, cum et in proximis aedificium fidei sine fundamento non possit consurgere, et in nostris periculum sit ne ut quisque erit doctior, ita provinciam hanc tanquam primo aspectu minus speciosam

forsitan detrectare conetur, cum tamen re vera nulla sit fructuosior vel proximis ad aedificationem vel nostris ad caritatis et humilitatis simul officia exercenda. Subditi vero tum propter ingentes ordinis utilitates, tum propter nunquam satis laudatum humilitatis assiduum exercitium, Praeposito in omnibus ad institutum Societatis pertinentibus parere semper teneantur, et in illo Christum veluti praesentem agnoscant et quantum decet venerentur.

§ 10. Cum autem experti fuerimus iucundiores, puriores et ad proximi aedificationem aptiores esse vitam ab omni avaritiae contagione quam remotissimam, et evangelicae paupertati quam simillimam; quae sciamus D. N. I. C. servis suis regnum Dei solum inquirentibus necessaria ad victum et vestitum esse subministraturum; voveant singuli et universi perpetuam paupertatem, declarantes quod non solum privatim sed neque etiam communiter possint pro Societatis sustentatione aut usu ad bona aliqua stabilia aut ad proventus seu introitus aliquos ius aliquod civile acquirere, sed sint contenti usu tantum rerum sibi donatarum, ad necessaria sibi comparanda recipere.

§ 11. Possint tamen habere in universitatibus collegium seu collegia habentia redditus, census seu possessiones, usibus et necessariis studentium applicandas, retenta penes Praepositum et Societatem omnimoda gubernatione seu superintendentia super dicta collegia et praedictos studentes, quoad gubernatoris seu gubernatorum; ac studentium electionem ac eorundem admissionem, emissionem, receptionem, exclusionem, statutorum ordinationem, circa studentium instructionem, aedificationem ac correctionem, victus vestitusque eis ministrandi modum, atque aliam omnimodam gubernationem, regimen ac curam. Sic tamen ut neque studentes dictis bonis abuti, neque Societas in proprios usus convertere possit, sed studentium necessitati subvenire. Qui quidem post cognitum in spiritu et literis eorum profectum, et post sufficientem probationem in Societatem nostram admitti possint.

§ 12. Socii omnes quicumque in sacris fuerint, quamvis beneficia ecclesiastica aut eorum redditus non habeant, teneantur tamen singuli, privatim ac particulariter et non communiter ad dicendum officium secundum ecclesiae ritum.

· § 13. Haec sunt quae sub praefati D. N. Pauli et Sedis Apostolicae beneplacito de nostra professione typo quodam explicare potuimus; quod nunc fecimus ut summatim scriptioe hac informaremus, tum illos qui nos de nostro vitae instituto

interrogant, tum etiam posteros nostros, si quos, Deo volente, imitatores unquam habebimus huius vitae: quam cum multas magnasque habere annexas difficultates fuerimus experti, opportunum iudicavimus etiam statuere ne quis in hac Societate recipiatur nisi diu ac diligentissime fuerit probatus. Cumque prudens in Christo, et vel doctrina seu vitae Christianae puritate apparuerit conspicuus, tunc demum admittatur ad Iesu Christi militiam: qui tenuibus coeptis nostris favere dignetur ad gloriam Dei Patris, cui soli sit semper decus et honor in saecula, Amen.

§ 14. Cum autem nil in praemissis reperiatur quod pium non sit aut sanctum, Nos (ut iidem socii qui Nobis super hoc humilissime supplicari fecerunt, in eorum pio vivendi proposito eo promptiores existant quo se maiori Sedis Apostolicae gratia complecti cognoverint et praemissa per Nos approbari viderint) praemissa omnia singula tanquam ad spiritualem profectum eorundem sociorum et reliqui Christiani gregis opportuna, Apostolica auctoritate, tenore praesentium ex certa scientia approbamus, confirmamus et benedicimus ac perpetuae firmitatis munimine roboramus, ipsosque socios sub nostra et huius sanctae Sedis Apostolicae protectione suscepimus, eis nihilominus concedentes quod particulares inter eos constitutiones quas ad Societatis huiusmodi finem et I. C. D. N. gloriam ac proximi utilitatem conformes esse iudicaverint, condere libere ac licite valeant.

§ 15. Non obstantibus generalis Concilii et felicitis recordationis Gregorii Papae X praedecessoris nostri ac quibuscvis aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

§ 16. Volumus autem quod in Societate huiusmodi usque ad numerum sexaginta personarum normulam vivendi huiusmodi profiteri cupientium, et non ultra, admitti et Societati praefatae aggregari dumtaxat valeant.

XI.

THE COLLOQUY OF RATISBON, 1541

On his return to Germany, Jan. 1541, the Emperor, as he thought, saw a way to peace in reliance upon (*a*) the middle-party of reform just victorious in Brandenburg, and (*b*) Philip of Hesse, who, with his son-in-law, Maurice, now Duke of Saxony, 1541-1553, had come over from the League. Paul III also still looked for advice to the group of reforming Cardinals, the most distinguished

of whom was the conciliatory Gaspar Contarini, 1483-†1542. It was thought that something might be gained by discussion. After abortive conferences at Hagenau, 12 June-16 July 1540, and at Worms, 14-18 Jan. 1541, where the basis of discussion was the Confession of Augsburg, the Pope sent Contarini as Legate with, 28 Jan. 1541, instructions (*Quirini Epistolae Poli*, III. cclxxxvi. sqq.) which gave him 'a certain latitude' (Ranke, *Popes*, i. 121): and the Emperor presided in person when the Proposition (*Corp. Ref.* iv. 151) was read at, 5 April, the opening of the Diet of Regensburg (cf. Pastor, *Reunionsbestrebungen*, 218 sqq.; Vetter, *Die Religionsverhandlungen auf dem Reichstage zu Regensburg*, 1541). On 22 April Charles admonished (*C. R.* iv. 186) the six theologians whom he had nominated to take part in [No. 136] **The Colloquy of Ratisbon**, 27 April-22 May (*ibid.* iv. 330 sqq.). They were for the Catholics, Eck, Julius Pflug, 1499-†1564, and John Gropper, 1503-†59; and for the Protestants, Melancthon, Butzer, and Pistorius, 1503-†83- all, save the first, who took but little part through illness, men of conciliatory disposition: and the basis of discussion was not the Confession of Augsburg but the *Liber Ratisponensis* (*ibid.* iv. 190 sqq.), a temperate statement of the points at issue, drawn up for the occasion (*ibid.* iv. 578) under the eye of the Emperor's minister, 1530-†50, Granvella the elder, Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, 1544-†56, presided, and at times Granvella himself: Contarini guided his own side in the discussion. By 10 May [No. 137] **an agreement** (*ibid.* iv. 199; 281) was reached on the crucial point of justification. Never before had [No. 138] **the prospects of re-union** (*Epp. Poli*, iii. 25) been so bright. But they came to nothing. The agreement was rejected, on theological grounds, (a) at a distance both by Luther, who, 10 May, denounced it as 'a patched-up thing' (de Wette, v. 353), and, 27 May, in Consistory at Rome by Cervino and Caraffa for its omission of merit (*Epp. Poli*, III. xlviii: cf. Ranke, *Popes*, i. 124); and (b) on the spot where, 22 May, [No. 139] **differences** (*C. R.* iv. 329) declared themselves on the authority and constitution of the Church. [No. 140] **Political rivalries**, as revealed in a letter of Contarini, 28 Apr., to Cardinal Farnese (*Epp. Poli*, III. ccliv), and by his secretary Beccatelli, *Vita Contarini*, § 18 (*ibid.* III. cxix), completed the breach: for Francis I feared an united Germany, which would have left the Emperor supreme in the Council and in Europe (Ranke, *Popes*, i. 125 sq.). Moreover, the Turk was advancing, once more, in Hungary. The Recess of the Diet therefore, 29 July (*C. R.* iv. 626 sqq.), could only defer matters till the Council: and this, in turn, was delayed by a fourth war between Charles and Francis, 1542-4.

No. 136. *Historia Conventus Ratisponensis.*

Tandem igitur eo decurritur, adsentimur Imperatori ut hoc angustius colloquium instituatur sed ita ne condantur flexiloi qui

articuli, sed ut simplex veritas patefiat. Et testatus est Imperator velle se inquiri veritatem.

Et in delectu hac usus est aequitate. Ex pontificiis tres legit Iulium, Eccium, Gropperum. His addit ex altera parte tres Philippum, Bucerum et Nidanum¹ pastorem. Petitum est ut addantur principes ceu gubernatores colloquii, et aliqui auditores seu testes, ut acta recitari tum Imperatori tum aliis principibus fidelius possint. Delecti sunt gubernatores Dux Fridericus Palatinus² et Granvellus. Adiuncti auditores . . .

Initio congressus Dux Fridericus rursus adhortatur delectos ut sedatos et pios animos ad tantam deliberationem adferant, et dirimere controversias studeant.

Narrat ipsi Imperatori tot iam annos eam rem maximae curae fuisse, eoque multorum doctorum et bonorum explorasse sententias. Cum igitur quidam exhibuerint ipsi scriptum quod propter moderationem aliorum consiliis durioribus antetulerit, velle Imperatorem ut delectis liber ille proponatur, qui quasi viam monstret ad dirimendas controversias.

Liber est exhibitus aequissima conditione ut quae non probarentur nobis, dicere liceret et censuram adderemus. Etsi autem tutius videbatur nonnullis ex delectis percurrere Augustanam confessionem, tamen cum alii librum anteferrent, et incivile videretur nolle inspicere scriptum propositum ab Imperatore, sine iniquis conditionibus, convenit ut liber legere-tur et ordine dicerentur sententiae.

Initia non habebant controversias de conditione hominis, de lapsu, de libero arbitrio, de causa peccati, de vitio originis. De his locis nunc quidem rixae nullae fuerunt.

Secutus est locus de reconciliatione hominis seu iustificatione, de quo farrago illa neutri parti satisfaciebat, et quia novas quasdam sententias continebat, et quod pleraque erant obscura, impropria et flexiloqua: ut alias videretur recte dicere, fide propter Christum iusti sumus, alias contra, propter donatas virtutes iusti sumus, ut Thomas seu ut Plato loquitur.

Seposito igitur libro de summa rei libere disputatum est, et tandem ad formulam decursum, in qua recepta et explicata est sententia, fide propter Christum gratis iustificamur, non propter virtutes nostras.

Cum de hoc loco convenisset, redire ad librum iussi sumus. Lectus est locus sequens de Ecclesia. Hic ut facilius obtineri sequentia possent, insidiosae addita est hypothesis, communem

¹ Pistorius was pastor of Nidda, in Hesse.

² Count Palatine of the Rhine 1544-1556.

consensum Ecclesiae et Synodos legitimas non errare. Hic magnum certamen ortum est, cumque per aliquot dies de hoc loco diligenter disputassemus, et pars delectorum scripsisset contrariam sententiam, iussi sumus reicere hanc partem in aliud tempus.

Lectus est locus de Sacramentis, in quo cum ventum esset ad Coenam Domini, rixae ortae sunt de conversione substantiae panis. Reiecta est et haec disputatio in aliud tempus. Postea acerrima contentio de re non magna secuta est; an in confessione, ut vocant, necessaria sit delictorum enumeratio. Defendebatur regnum confessionum a nonnullis, vel propter auctoritatem ordinis sacerdotum, vel propter culinas monachorum. Sed ab aliis exhibita est contraria sententia copiose explicata.

Ventum est ad locos de potestate Episcoporum,¹ de invocatione sanctorum, et de oblatione in Coena Domini, seu de adplicatione Missae, ut vocant.² De quibus materiis cum non potuerit convenire, rursus erunt contrariae sententiae exhibendae. Tandem igitur abiecta spe conciliationis reliquum libri percurrimus, et scriptum adornatur in quo Imperatori acta nostra referantur.

No. 137. The agreement on Justification; letter of Melanchthon, 10 May 1541.

(a) From the *Liber Ratisponensis*, § v.—Firma itaque est et sana doctrina per fidem vivam et efficacem iustificari peccatorem. Nam per illam Deo grati et accepti sumus, propter Christum. Vocamus autem fidem vivam motum Spiritus Sancti quo vere poenitentes veteris vitae eriguntur ad Deum et vere apprehendunt misericordiam in Christo promissam, ut iam vere sentiant quod remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem propter meritum Christi gratuita Dei bonitate acceperunt, et clamant ad Deum, Abba, Pater, id quod tamen nulli obtingit nisi etiam simul infundatur caritas sanans voluntatem, ut voluntas sanata, quemadmodum D. Augustinus ait, incipiat implere Legem. Fides ergo viva ea est quae apprehendit misericordiam in Christo, ac credit iustitiam quae est in Christo sibi gratis imputari et quae simul pollicitationem Spiritus sancti et caritatem accipit. Ita quod fides quidem iustificans est illa fides quae est efficax per caritatem. Sed interim hoc verum

¹ *Liber Ratisponensis*, § xix, *ap. Corp. Ref.* iv. 221 sqq.

² *ibid.* § xx, *ap. Corp. Ref.* iv. 224 sqq.

est, quod hac fide eatenus iustificamur, id est, acceptamur et reconciliamur Deo, quatenus apprehendit misericordiam et iustitiam quae nobis imputatur propter Christum et eius meritum, non propter dignitatem seu perfectionem iustitiae nobis in Christo communicatae.

Etsi autem is qui iustificatur iustitiam accipit et habet per Christum etiam inhaerentem, sicut dicit Apostolus, Abluti estis, sanctificati estis, iustificati estis etc., quare sancti patres iustificari etiam pro eo quod est inhaerentem iustitiam accipere usurparunt: tamen anima fidelis huic non ininitur, sed soli iustitiae Christi nobis donatae, sine qua omnino nulla est nec esse potest iustitia. Et sic fide in Christum iustificamur seu reputamur iusti, id est, accepti per ipsius merita, non propter nostram dignitatem aut opera . . .

(b) From a letter of *Melanchthon's*, 10 May.—Hic postquam conciliationes institutae sunt, principia mediocria fuerunt. *Περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐκ πίστεως* convenit. Adsentiuntur delecti iustificari homines fide, et quidem in eam sententiam ut nos docemus. Formula composita est quae, etsi brevior est quam causae magnitudo postulat, tamen mediocris est. Postea fuerunt alterationes de auctoritate Synodorum. Contendebant non posse errare legitime convocatum Synodum. Cumque non assentiremur, reiecta est disputatio in aliud tempus, secutum maius certamen *περὶ δείπνου κυριακοῦ*. Volunt mutari panem et repositum adorari. Nolui assentiri, fuique durior quam meus *παρυστάτης* [Butzer], qui olim maxime oppugnavit illam adorationem.

No. 138. The prospects of re-union; letter of Cardinal Pole, 17 May 1541.

. . . Sensi vero tali me perfundi gaudio cum hanc consonantiam opinionum viderem, quanto nulla quamvis suavis armonia animum et aures unquam permulcere posset; nec vero tantum ob eam causam quod magnum fundamentum pacis et concordiae iactum esse videbam quam quod hoc fundamentum illud agnoscerem quod super omnia, ut mihi quidem videtur, gloriam Christi illustrat; est vero fundamentum totius doctrinae Christianae. Etsi enim diversa tractari videntur ut de Fide et Operibus ac Iustificatione, tamen omnia ad unum Iustificationis caput referri et de eo convenisse utriusque partis theologos maxime gratulor, et Deo per Christum gratias ago qui tales vos ministros elegit et

idoneos fecit tam praeclarae concordiae in tam solido fundamento resarciendae: ex quo in magnam spem venimus qui tam misericorditer coepit in consolidando hoc fundamento, reliqua quae ad opus beneficii pertinent eadem bonitate perfecturum.

No. 139. Differences; letter of Melanchthon,
23 May 1541.

... Postea redeundum fuit ad librum [sc. Ratisponensem]. Lectus est articulus de Ecclesia. Ibi ingens certamen ortum est: contendebant adversarii synodos generales non posse errare. Tandem, cum non cederemus adversariis, seposita est haec quaestio. Secutae rixae de conversione panis in Coena Domini: sed multo acrius certamen fuit de enumeratione in confessione. Hanc volebant esse necessariam. Nec mutant sententiam. Postea disputatum est de potestate episcoporum, de invocatione sanctorum, de Missa. Cumque in his articulis dissideamus, breviter percurrimus reliquum libri, et nunc nostra acta Imperatori exponemus.

Habetis historiam usque ad diem Maii 23, quam aliquando coram narrabo copiosius . . .

No. 140. Political rivalries.

(a) From a letter of Contarini to Card. Farnese, 28 April.

Eck was first invited by the Landgrave to talk with him; and he has told me that he finds him difficult on three points: *de connubio sacerdotum, de primatu Pontificis et de communione sub utraque specie*. He has also been with the Elector of Brandenburg; and he has told me that he finds him stiff on three points: *de Missa quod sit sacrificium, de connubio sacerdotum et de communione sub utraque specie*. As for the primacy of the Pope, he tells me that the Margrave does not see the least difficulty in the world: nay, he says it appears to him most necessary, there being among Christians one faith and one church.

Monsignor Granvella talking with the Nuncio and me in my room spoke of the infinite danger there is lest, if some beginning be not made at once, this sect should be disseminated and spread broadcast in Flanders and other countries. He asserted to me with an oath that he had in his hands letters of the most Christian King to the Protestant Princes exhorting them by no means to make agreement with

the Catholics, and avowing himself desirous to learn their opinions which were not displeasing to him.

(b) From Beccatelli's *Life of Contarini*, § 18.

Now the devil, who always sets himself in opposition to good works, so wrought that when this report of the peace that was being prepared between Catholics and Protestants got about, the enemies of the Emperor, whether in or out of Germany, dreading the power he would obtain in the union of all Germany, began to sow the tares of discord among the divines of the Conference: and, on the other hand, in Rome, which was always a land of liberty, some who saw with ill will the greatness of the Cardinal said that he had been accepted in Germany, because of the advances and concessions he had made to the Lutherans, which he ought not to have made. This was mere calumny. But with the malicious lies have always more force than the truth: and so not only in Rome but throughout Italy they disseminated this report. The Cardinal, however, took as little notice of it as of a pasquinade, when it came to his ears as far off as Germany. But he was truly sorry that carnal envy should have interrupted the happy progress made by the divines of the Conference.

NLI

THE FOUNDING OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION

BY PAUL III, 1542

Concession now gave way to repression, the policy of Contarini to that of his colleague, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, 1476-†1559. It was Caraffa who had intervened to checkmate the convention so nearly arranged at Ratisbon. He was for reform, specially of the spiritual life and the morals of the clergy, to which he contributed by his share in the founding of the Theatines (Ranke, *Popes*, Bk. II, c. i): but he stood also for the maintenance of an undeviating orthodoxy. What, however, the Jesuits aimed at recovering by missions, Caraffa proposed to effect by repression: and to this end he procured from Paul III, 21 July 1542, [No. 141] the Bull *Licet ab initio* (*Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, i. 762 sqq.), establishing the Roman Inquisition. By this weapon, the second in the armoury of the Counter-Reformation (cf. Ranke, *Popes*, Bk. II, c. vi; and Philippon, *La Contre-révolution religieuse*, Livre II), Caraffa drove 'Lutheranism' out of Italy; and, as Paul IV, 1555-9, incarnated in Rome the severe and unbending spirit of the later papacy (cf. Ranke, *Popes*, Bk. III, c. iv; and Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, iv. 379 sqq.).

No. 141. The Bull *Licet ab initio*, 21 July 1542.

Licet ab initio nostrae ad summi Apostolatus apicem assumptionis id semper nobis cordi fixum institerit ut fides Catholica ubique floreret et augetur, ac omnis haeretica pravitas a Christifidelibus nostra diligentia procul pelleretur; necnon diabolica fraude seducti viam veritatis cognoscerent et ad gremium et unitatem Ecclesiae reducerentur, et si qui animi perversitate ducti in eorum damnato proposito persistenter, ita plecterentur ut eorum poena aliis transiret in exemplum: nihilominus sperantes quandoque eosdem sic seductos, tum Dei Omnipotentis misericordia, tum fidelium orationibus ac doctorum virorum praedicationibus errores suos recognituros, et illis abiuratis ad sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam redituros, et, si id aliquantum differrent, auctoritate sacri oecumenici et generalis Concilii, quod ad id imprimis propediem celebrare sperabamus, deterritos, veram et Catholicam fidem amplexuros, et ea mediante in semitis iustitiae ambulaturos fore, negotium inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis huiusmodi in hanc usque diem distulimus.

§ 1. Verum cum Concilium huiusmodi ex diversis rationalibus causis, et praesertim bellorum turbinibus, quas hactenus inter Principes Christianos viguerunt, nondum inchoari potuerit, et, humani generis hoste procurante, fidelium animi novis haeresibus in dies magis polluantur omniaque schismatis dissidiis repleantur, lacereturque fere Christiani nominis unitas, inconsutilisque Christi tunica scindatur,

§ 2. Nos ne, dum dies Concilii per nos novissime indicti expectatur, omnia in deterius labantur, providere volentes ac nequeunt per nos solos, aliis etiam arduis occupatis curis, omnia exsequi, dilectorumque filiorum nostrorum Ioannis Petri S. Clementis,¹ Ioannis S. Sixti,² Petri pauli S. Balbinae,³ Bartholomaei S. Caesarei,⁴ Dionysii S. Marcelli,⁵ et Thomae S. Silvestri,⁶ titt. Presbyterorum Cardinalium fidem doctrinam et virtutem perspectas habentes, ac de eis plurimum in Domino confidentes, eosdem Io. Petrum et Ioannem ac Petrum paulum et Bartholomaeum necnon Dionysium et Thomam Cardinales, nostros et

¹ Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti 1537-49.

² Juan Alvares de Toledo, Bishop of Burgos 1539-50.

³ Piero Paolo Parisi, Bishop of Nusco 1538-†45.

⁴ Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, Bishop of Teramo 1539-46.

⁵ Dionysio Laurerio, General of the Servites, †1542.

⁶ Tommaso Badia, a Dominican, †1547.

Apostolicae sedis in omnibus et singulis Reipublicae Christianae civitatibus, oppidis, terris et locis tam citra quam ultra montes ubilibet etiam in Italia consistentibus ac in Romana Curia super negotio fidei Commissarios et Inquisitores Generales et generalissimos auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium constituimus et deputamus.

§ 3. Ac eis contra omnes et singulos a via Domini et fide Catholica aberrantes, seu de eadem fide male sentientes, aut alias quomodolibet de haeresi suspectos illorumque sequaces fautores et defensores, ac eis auxilium consilium vel favorem publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, praestantes, cuiuscumque status gradus ordinis conditionis praeceminentiae fuerint, etiam absque ordinariis locorum, etiam in causis in quibus ipsi de iure intervenire habent, inquirendi et per viam inquisitionis vel investigationis seu alias ex officio procedendi ac culpabiles quoscumque seu suspectos praecedentibus inditiis, carceribus mancipandi ac contra eos usque ad finalem sententiam inclusive procedendi, et culpabiles repertos poenis iuxta canonicas sanctiones debitae puniendi, ac ultimo supplicio damnatorum bona, prout iuris fuerit, publicandi.

§ 4. Necnon ad effectum praemissorum, procuratorem fiscalem et notarios publicos et alios officiales ad praemissa necessarios et opportunos etiam clericos sive religiosos, cuiuscumque Ordinis fuerint, deputandi et constituendi.

§ 5. Et si necesse fuerit aliquos clericos saeculares, aut cuiuscumque Ordinis regulares, etiam in sacris et presbyteratus ordinibus constitutos propter praemissa degradari, per quemcumque Catholicum Antistitem quem praedicti Cardinales duxerint deputandum, convocatis et sibi ad hoc assistentibus duobus abbatibus aut aliis personis in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutis, ad actualem degradationem eorundem clericorum, eorumque curiae saeculari traditionem seu dimissionem, alias, prout etiam iuris fuerit, procedi faciendi.

§ 6. Ac contradictores quoslibet et rebelles sententiis, censuris et poenis ecclesiasticis, ac privationis omnium et singulorum beneficiorum et officiorum ecclesiasticorum per eos quomodolibet obtentorum, nec non inhabilitationis ad illa et alia in posterum obtinenda, aliisque opportunis iuris remediis, appellationis diffugio semoto, compescendi.

§ 7. Et auxilium brachii saecularis invocandi, omniaque et singula alia quae praedicti Cardinales ad haereses et in fide huiusmodi errores ad praesens in Republica Christiana ubilibet vigentes reprimendos et radicitus extirpandos necessaria.

fore cognoverint, et ad officium inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis de iure pertinent faciendi, gerendi, ordinandi, exercendi et exsequendi.

§ 8. Necnon ad praemissa omnia et singula in quibusvis civitatibus, terris et locis de quibus eisdem Cardinalibus videbitur, et quotiens ipsi Cardinales opus esse cognoverint, alias personas ecclesiasticas idoneas, litteratas et Deum timentes in Theologia Magistros, seu in altero iurium Doctores, licentiatos, Baccalaureos in aliqua Universitate studii generalis graduatos, in trigesimo eorum aetatis anno ad minus constitutos, seu ecclesiarum cathedralium canonicos, vel alias dignitate ecclesiastica praeditos, cum simili aut limitata facultate substituendi, et subdelegandi ac eos, in toto vel in parte, simul vel successive, ad eorundem Cardinalium libitum, etiam in negotiis et causis per eos tunc inceptis, revocandi et loco ipsorum alios similiter qualificados deputandi, ita tamen quod praedicti Cardinales, et alii ab eis pro tempore deputati, de absolutionibus et reconciliationibus reorum qui ad veritatis lumen redire voluerint, quas nobis expresse reservamus, ac aliis quam haeresis crimen sapientibus delictis et excessibus se intrittere nequeant, plenam et omnimodam facultatem eisdem auctoritate et tenore concedimus.

§ 9. Et nihilominus auctoritate et tenore praemissis statuimus et ordinamus quod omnes et singulae appellationes per eos contra quos vigore praesentium procedi contigerit, a quibuscumque per ipsos Cardinales deputatis pro tempore interponendae, ad eosdem Cardinales devolvi debeant, ipsique Cardinales causas appellationum huiusmodi, cum omnibus et singulis earum incidentibus, dependentibus, emergentibus, annexis et connexis, audire cognoscere et decidere. Ac in quacumque instantia fuerint, sine debito terminare ac executioni debitae demandare.

§ 10. Et tam in causis appellationum huiusmodi quam alias ad effectum praemissorum omnium quos opus fuerit, tam in dicta Curia quam extra eam, et in partibus etiam, per edictum publicum constituto, summarie et extraiudicialiter, de non tuto ad eos accessu, citare, ac quibus inhibendum fuerit inhibere et appellantes simpliciter vel ad cautelam, a quibuscumque excommunicationibus et aliis sententiis censuris et poenis ecclesiasticis in eos latis, absolvere possint, prout de iure fuerit faciendum. Decernentes quaecumque per ipsos Cardinales, seu ab eis deputatos in praemissis, quomodolibet pro tempore gesta plenam roboris firmitatem obtinere, et perpetuo inviolabiliter observari debere.

§ 11. Et sic per quoscumque iudices et commissarios, quavis auctoritate fungentes, sublata eis et eorum cuilibet quavis aliter iudicandi et interpretandi facultate et auctoritate, iudicari et definiri debere, necnon irritum et inane quicquid secus super his a quocumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari.

§ 12. Non obstantibus felicis recordationis Bonifacii Papae Octavi praedecessoris nostri qua cavetur ne quis extra civitatem suam vel dioecesim nisi in certis casibus, et in illis ultra unam dietam a fine suae dioecesis, ad iudicium evocetur, seu ne iudices qui a Sede praedicta deputati fuerint contra quoscumque procedere aut aliis vices suas committere praesumant, et de duabus dietis in concilio generali edita, ac aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis contrariis quibuscumque, aut si personis praedictis vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim ab eadem sit Sede indultum quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari aut extra vel ultra certa loca ad iudicium evocari non possint, per litteras Apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, et quibusvis aliis privilegiis, indulgentiis et litteris Apostolicis, sub quibuscumque tenoribus et formis quomodolibet concessis confirmatis et innovatis, per quae praesentium litterarum et iurisdictionis ipsorum Cardinalium in praemissis executio impediri quomodolibet vel differri possit, quae quoad hoc ipsis aut alicui eorum minime suffragari posse, vel debere decernimus.

§ 13. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae constitutionis, deputationis, reservationis, concessionis, statuti, ordinationis et decreti infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

XLII

THE LAST WAR BETWEEN CHARLES AND FRANCIS, 1542-4

The Recess of Ratisbon, 29 July 1541, bade prelates take in hand 'a Christian order and reformation' (*C. R.* iv. 628). Relying upon this, Hermann von Wied, 1477-1552, Elector-Archbishop of Köln, 1515-47 (cf. Varrentrapp, *Hermann von Wied*), took further

action. With the aid of Gropper and another Erasmian, Konrad von Heresbach (*ibid.* 72), the adviser of John III, Duke of Jülich-Cleve, 1521-†39, the Archbishop had already taken steps at the Provincial Council of Köln, March 1536, to effect a reform of abuses, specially of 'fastus, luxus et avaritia, a quibus clerici potissimum male audiunt' (*Canones Concilii Provincialis Coloniensis MDXXXVI*, § II, cap. xxii [Parisii, 1550]). But in the winter of 1542-3 he began to show an inclination to Lutheranism, and called to his aid at Bonn first Butzer (Varrentrapp, *op. cit.* ii. 54), and then Melanchthon (*C. R.* v. 19). Here Butzer drew up the liturgical, and Melanchthon contributed the doctrinal, part of a scheme of reform based on Andreas Osiander's, 1498-†1552, Church Order for Brandenburg-Nürnberg (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 176 sqq.). It was published 1544 as Hermann's *Bedenken* (*ibid.* ii. 30 sqq.) and 1545 in Latin as his *Deliberatio*: but is best known to Englishmen as Hermann's *Consultation*, 1547-8, for its influence on the *Book of Common Prayer* (cf. Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, c. ii). Melanchthon's account of [No. 142] Hermann's attempted reformation is preserved in his letters (*C. R.* v. 112 sq., 148 sq.) from Bonn. When submitted to the Diet there, July 1543, the proposals were welcomed by the lay estates (Varrentrapp, 207): and the Archbishop had previously received promise of support (*ibid.* ii. 83) from William V, Duke of Cleve, 1539-†92, who at Easter 1543 declared himself Lutheran by receiving the Sacrament in both kinds. But he was stoutly resisted by his Chapter, who, 1 Oct. 1543, presented their criticisms in Gropper's *Antididagma*, published 1544. This again is of interest to Englishmen, for 'there can be little doubt that both the phraseology and the sequence of ideas in the canon of the Mass of 1549 were markedly influenced by the chapters on the Mass (ed. 1544, foll. xlii sqq.) in that book' (Rev. F. E. Brightman, in *The Guardian* of 22 May 1901).

Gropper's criticisms put an end to the Archbishop's Lutheranizing programme; for they synchronized with the Emperor's victory over the Duke of Cleve, and the terms which he imposed on him, 7 Sept. 1543, by the [No. 143] *Treaty of Veplen* (Dumont, *Corps diplomatique*, IV. ii. 265). Charles thus put down what, for him, were specially dangerous movements on the borders of his hereditary dominions in the Low Countries. But the threatened defection of one of the three spiritual Electors, coupled with the fact that the Elector Palatine, Frederick II, 1544-†1556, was already wavering, while his nephew and heir, Otto Heinrich, Elector 1556-†9, had already gone, alarmed the Emperor. Defection such as this would have meant that the Protestants were about to gain a majority in the Electoral College, and that the Empire would be lost to the House of Hapsburg. Charles hastily concluded with Francis, 18 Sept. 1544, the [No. 144] *Peace of Crespy* (Dumont, IV. ii. 279 sqq.): and, abandoning Conferences for a Council, began to think, at the same time, of an appeal to the sword.

No. 142. The attempted reforms of Hermann,
Archbishop of Köln, 1543.

(a) *Melanchthon to Luther*, 19 May.—Postquam veni Bonnam intellexi Episcopum dedisse mandatum ut forma doctrinae et rituum proponenda ecclesiis conscribatur, et quidem ad exemplum Norimbergensis formae. Ac iussus sum inchoatum opus inspicere. Id hoc triduo feci, Episcopus vult pure tradi doctrinam et tolli ritus publicos pugnantes cum doctrina, sed adversari non desinunt Canonici, etsi in his quoque sunt qui aliorum violentiam impediunt. Fuerunt minitati quidam ferociores se excussuros esse Episcopum. Quare Landgravius ad Collegium scripsit, ac palam affirmavit se et caeteros foederatos suscepturos esse defensionem Episcopi, si opus sit. Sed reliquae civitates praeter Coloniam et praecipua pars nobilitatis expetit piam ecclesiarum constitutionem, quam vident profecto necessariam esse. Vix enim alibi in Germania tantum arbitrator fuisse aut esse superstitionis barbaricae et plane ethnicae quantum fuit in his regionibus, ut adhuc exempla currentium ad statuas ostendunt. Sed video nunc conciones magna frequentia audiri Bucerii et Pistorii, et animadverto utrumque pure et recte docere. Sunt et alii in vicinis aliquot oppidis et pagis qui recte docent et sacramenta pie administrant. His initiis ut Deus faveat oremus, eaque provehat. In ditione Iuliacensi prorsus negliguntur ecclesiae, quod belli tempore solet accidere. Interim vero et illi qui in illa regione oderunt puram doctrinam hac occasione saevitiam exercent ut ex litteris quas adieci videbitur, quas quidam ex Iuliacensi ditione scripsit. . . . Iam hac hora audimus Weseliae abolitas esse privatas missas et institutam administrationem Coenae Domini iuxta Evangelium, et aulicos ob hanc causam Senatui minitari, . . .

(b) *Melanchthon to Cruciger*, 23 May.—Scripsi vobis antea, Episcopum secuturum esse formam Norimbergensem, eratque ante meum adventum institutus liber ad exemplum Norimbergense scribendus. Retinuit pleraque Osiandri Bucerii, quosdam articulos auxit, ut est copiosus. Mihi cum omnia relegissem attribuit articulos *περί τῶν ὑποστάσεων*, de creatione, de peccato originis, de iustitia fidei et operum, de Ecclesia, de penitentia. In his consumpsi tempus hactenus, et legi de ceremoniis baptismi et Coenae Domini quae ipse composuit. Arbitror pene finitum esse opus. Avellam igitur me quam primum. Nam secuturas esse longas deliberationes et tardas ratiocinor. Sunt et in aula et in tota regione docti quidam et nobiles, qui

expetunt veram emendationem ecclesiarum ; sed reliqua turba, ut alibi, aut non curat aut repugnat bonis consiliis . . .

(c) *Melanchthon to Caesareus*, 24 July.—. . . Nunc de conventu pauca adiciam. Brevisssimae deliberationes fuissent, nisi rem extrahere Gropperus studeret. Comites, Ordo Equestris, Legati Civitatum, censuerunt recipiendam esse formam ecclesiarum restaurandarum. Sed Legati Collegii Coloniensis refragantur. Etsi enim doctrinae genus non improbant, tamen expectari Collegii consensum volunt. Nectunt moras, negant rem tantam subito constituendam esse. Adsunt viri optimi, senex frater Principis, Stolbergius, Glichensis, sed habent, ut solet fieri, mandata certa. Suntque adiuncti duo Gropperus et Hieronymus. Sed *πρωταγωνιστής* est Gropperus. Is hactenus variis artificiis pugnavit ut impediatur ecclesiarum emendatio. Liber profecto tantum necessariam omnibus pueris *κατήχησιν* continet et summam Christianae doctrinae.

De Collegiis et *ἱεραρχίᾳ* Ecclesiastica, ut vocant, moderatissimae sunt sententiae, ut maneat forma politicae ecclesiasticae, mancant Collegia et *ἀξιώματα ἱερατικά*, opes, gradus, ornamenta ; sed superstitiones graves tollantur. Saepe in conventibus Germanicae Nationis hanc pacis viam proposui. Nec aliam video nisi hanc unam ut retineant Episcopi et Collegia sua *ἀξιώματα* et suas opes, et recipiant doctrinam piam. Quid cogitari aequius potest ? Si hanc moderationem Gropperus non probat, sed prius nos interfici cupit, nec ecclesiae nec patriae bene consulit . . .

No. 143. The Treaty of Venlo, 7 Sept. 1543.

Ut suis in districtibus ac provinciis, quascumque haberet vel Caesaris benignitate esset recepturus, religionem ac ritus Ecclesiae Romanae retineret ; si quid esset immutatum, restitueret ; fidem et obsequium Caesari, Ferdinando Regi ac toti Imperio promitteret ; a foedere quod cum Gallo Danoque percussisset, decederet ; contra C. M. aut eius haeredes ac successores pactiones in posterum nullas faceret ; quascumque erat facturus, iis perpetuo Caesarem, Romanorum Regem eorumque haeredes includeret ; a Gelriae Ducatus ac Comitatus Zutphaniae possessione decederet ac eos Caesari eiusque haeredibus in perpetuum cederet ; Gelris iusiurandum quod fecissent, remitteret ; si quae forte eius Ducatus ac Comitatus Zutphaniae loca deditionem facere recusarent, ad ea recuperanda auxilium etiam suum commodaret. Caesar vicissim Ducatum ei Iuliacum redderet, exceptis Hensberga et Zittardo ; quae eousque

expetunt veram emendationem ecclesiarum ; sed reliqua turba, ut alibi, aut non curat aut repugnat bonis consiliis . . .

(c) *Melanchthon to Caesareus*, 24 July.—. . . Nunc de conventu pauca adiciam. Brevisssimae deliberationes fuissent, nisi rem extrahere Gropperus studeret. Comites, Ordo Equestris, Legati Civitatum, censuerunt recipiendam esse formam ecclesiarum restaurandarum. Sed Legati Collegii Coloniensis refragantur. Etsi enim doctrinae genus non inprobant, tamen expectari Collegii consensum volunt. Nectunt moras, negant rem tantam subito constituendam esse. Adsunt viri optimi, senex frater Principis, Stolbergius, Glichensis, sed habent, ut solet fieri, mandata certa. Suntque adiuncti duo Gropperus et Hieronymus. Sed *πρωταγωνιστής* est Gropperus. Is hactenus variis artificijs pugnavit ut impediatur ecclesiarum emendatio. Liber profecto tantum necessariam omnibus pueris *κατήχησιν* continet et summam Christianae doctrinae.

De Collegiis et *ἐπαρχίᾳ* Ecclesiastica, ut vocant, moderatissimae sunt sententiae, ut maneat forma politicae ecclesiasticae, maneat Collegia et *ἀξιώματα* *ἐρατικά*, opes, gradus, ornamenta ; sed superstitiones graves tollantur. Saepe in conventibus Germanicae Nationis hanc pacis viam proposui. Nec aliam video nisi hanc unam ut retineant Episcopi et Collegia sua *ἀξιώματα* et suas opes, et recipiant doctrinam piam. Quid cogitari aequius potest ? Si hanc moderationem Gropperus non probat, sed prius nos interfici cupit, nec ecclesiae nec patriae bene consulit . . .

No. 143. The Treaty of Venlo, 7 Sept. 1543.

Ut suis in districtibus ac provinciis, quascumque haberet vel Caesaris benignitate esset recepturus, religionem ac ritus Ecclesiae Romanae retineret ; si quid esset immutatum, restitueret ; fidem et obsequium Caesari, Ferdinando Regi ac toti Imperio promitteret ; a foedere quod cum Gallo Danoque percussisset, decederet ; contra C. M. aut eius haeredes ac successores pactiones in posterum nullas faceret ; quascumque erat facturus, iis perpetuo Caesarem, Romanorum Regem eorumque haeredes includeret ; a Gelriae Ducatus ac Comitatus Zutphaniae possessione decederet ac eos Caesari eiusque haeredibus in perpetuum cederet ; Gelris iusiurandum quod fecissent, remitteret ; si quae forte eius Ducatus ac Comitatus Zutphaniae loca deditionem facere recusarent, ad ea recuperanda auxilium etiam suum commodaret. Caesar vicissim Ducatum ei Iuliacum redderet, exceptis Hensberga et Zittardo ; quae eousque

reservaret, donec ipsi de fide atque obsequio eius abunde constaret. Castellum ac oppidum Ravensteinam cum iurisdictione universa C. Mti, ut feudum Brabantiae, traderet, donec eius a Caesare clientelam reciperet. Subditi omnes C. Mtis suas quisque fortunas ac bona quae essent intra ditiones Ducis sita, libere ac tuto tenerent ac fruerentur. Omniaque haec fideliter exsequeretur Dux Gulielmus : et eum vicissim Caesar ut Ducem ac Principem Imperii agnosceret, ipsumque sua atque Imperii protectione debitaque semper benevolentia prosequeretur ; tum et sumptus quoscumque belli tempore Caesar fecisset ingentem pecuniarum summam excedentes ; tum et damna quae incurrissent subditi eius, una cum redditibus ac proventu, quem ex Gelriae Ducatu ac Comitatu Zutphaniae Dux ipse percepisset, ab ipso aut eius haeredibus haud unquam repeteret.

No. 144. The Peace of Crespy, 18 Sept. 1544.

... Et pour ce que cetteditte Paix se fait, et fonde pour le service de Dieu nôtre souverain Createur, reduction de nôtre sainte Foi et Religion en union chretienne, et obvier à l'extreme danger et hazard où elle se trouve, et afin de parvenir à la generale pacification d'icelle, pour aussi pouvoir mieux entendre et s'employer unanimement à la repulsion des Turks et autres infidèles ses ennemis ; a été traité et accordé que leurdites deux Majestez, Imperiale et Royale, s'emploieront sincerement et de tout leur pouvoir, et par bonne et mutuelle intelligence et correspondance, et feront tout ce qui en eux sera jusques au bout, pour procurer d'acheminer et conduire ladite réunion, selon et par tous les meilleurs moiens et expéditions qu'ils aviseront par ensemble convenir a si bonne et tres sainte œuvre : confiant que le benoît Jésus Christ sera aidant a sa sainte cause et si sainte œuvre, et y inspirera et illuminera le S. Esprit leurdites deux Majestez ; et y conviendront et correspondront tous les autres Potentats, tant spirituels que temporels.

XLIII

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, 1545-63

In 1545 the Emperor informed the Pope that the recent Diets and Colloquies were but a blind to keep the Protestants quiet till his preparations for war were complete ; and begged him to open the Council as soon as possible. It met, at first, in a like spirit.

What the Emperor was to do in the field for the suppression of heresy, that Paul III instructed the Legates to accomplish in the Council, 'damnautes non personas sed doctrinam, et non solum generales propositiones sed et particulares, quae nunc vigent et haeresium sunt fundamenta. De reformatione, nec ante dogmata nec simul cum illis omnino agetur, cum haec secundaria et minor causa congregandi concilii fuerit; sed tali circumspectione in hac re utantur ut occasio aliis non sit credendi eam nos vel evitare vel ad finem concilii differre velle' (Le Plat, *Monumenta*, iii. 295). In its fourth session, therefore, the Council proceeded to rule out Protestantism by setting up as the standard of doctrine not Scripture only, but Scripture and Tradition as of equal authority. The importance of taking this step was first pointed out in a [No. 145] *Speech of Cardinal Pole* at a debate of 26 Feb. 1546 (Theiner, *Acta genuina Concilii Tridentini*, i. 60). It was taken by the [No. 146] *Decretum de canonicis Scripturis* of 8 April 1546 (*Canones et Decreta Conc. Trid.* 15). It controlled the rest of the Council's dogmatic decisions; and its results were ultimately seen, 18 Nov. 1564, in the [No. 147] *Professio fidei Tridentinae* (*ibid.* 226) or *Creed of Pope Pius IV*, which requires, in addition to the Nicene Creed, a profession of the tenets of later and, in the main, Latin theology. For the history of the Council see Ranke, *Popes*, II, c. 5; III, c. 7; and Philippon, *La Contre-révolution religieuse*, Livre III.

No. 145. A speech of Cardinal Pole, 26 Feb. 1546.

Tunc card. Polus, oculos adversus Fesulanum¹ et Asturicensem² coniciens, inquit: Sunt aliqui qui nos ut leves et inconstantes,¹ alii vero ut tardos et in minimis diutius quam oporteret immorantes ac laborantes² accusent. Quod profecto non alia ratione illis evenire puto, nisi quod ipsi ea quae tractantur non satis quidem intelligunt. Nam si ii considerarent quomodo Satanas hoc tempore nos cribrare coeperit, quomodo, inquam, omnis nostra religio ab adversariis nostris in dubium revocetur, profecto non parum aut nihil nos fecisse putarent in receptione sacrorum librorum et traditionum. Quae quidem res tanti sunt momenti tantique ponderis ut nihil gravius aut maius a nobis fieri potuisset. Est enim ecclesia ipsa tanquam castrorum acies ordinata, quae non ante ad bellum aut ad certamen progredi aut descendere potest nisi prius ordinetur: hic nempe ordo est, ut prius nos ipsi muniamur armis, deinceps ut decertemus ac pugnemus cum adversariis; qui quidem ordo mox omnibus aperte patebit,

¹ Braccio Martelli, Bishop of Fiesole, 1530-51.

² Didaeus de Alaba y Esquivil, Bishop of Astorga, 1543-8.

cum erit decertandum. Et quoniam quidam ad hominum abusus descendendum censuit,¹ sciat is, quod expeditis abusibus scripturarum et traditionum, erit expedita maxima pars negotii nostri. Nam abusus scripturarum sub se continent ordinem et modum praedicandi verbum Dei et interpretandi libros ipsos: traditionum vero abusus totam pene disciplinam ecclesiasticam respicere mihi videntur; confessiones enim et nostrae quidem caeremoniae omnes ad ipsas traditiones respiciunt.

Quae cum ipse cardinalis maxima pietate, zelo ac gravitate dixisset, omnes patres eadem approbare visi sunt: conclusumque fuit ut in eodem decreto libri et traditiones recipiantur . . .

**No. 146. Decretum de canonicis Scripturis,
Sessio iv, 8 April 1546.**

Sacrosancta oecumenica et generalis Tridentina synodus, in Spiritu sancto legitime congregata, praesidentibus in ea eisdem tribus Apostolicae Sedis legatis, hoc sibi perpetuo ante oculos proponens ut sublatis erroribus puritas ipsa evangelii in ecclesia conservetur, quod promissum ante per prophetas in scripturis sanctis D. N. I. C. Dei Filius proprio ore primum promulgavit, deinde per suos Apostolos tanquam fontem omnis et salutaris veritatis et morum disciplinae omni creaturae praedicari iussit; perspiciciensque hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus quae ab ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptae aut ab ipsis Apostolis, Spiritu sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditae ad nos usque pervenerunt; orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, quum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, necnon traditiones ipsas tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel oretenus a Christo vel a Spiritu sancto dictatas, et continua successione in ecclesia catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur [*Sequuntur nomina canonicarum Scripturarum*]. Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones praedictas sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit. Omnes itaque intelligant quo ordine et via ipsa synodus post iactum fidei confessionis fundamentum sit progressura, et quibus potissimum

¹ viz, the Bishop of Astorga.

testimoniis ac praesidiis in confirmandis dogmatibus et instaurandis in ecclesia moribus sit usura.

**No. 147. Professio fidei Tridentinae a Pio IV
praescripta, 18 Nov. 1564.**

Ego N. firma fide credo et profiteor omnia et singula quae continentur in symbolo fidei, quo S. Romana Ecclesia utitur, videlicet: Credo in unum Deum, &c. [*Sequitur symbolum Nicaenum*].

Apostolicas et ecclesiasticas traditiones, reliquasque eiusdem Ecclesiae observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto et amplector.

Item sacram Scripturam iuxta eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater Ecclesia, cuius est iudicare de vero sensu et interpretatione sacrarum Scripturarum, admitto, nec eam unquam nisi iuxta unanimum consensum Patrum accipiam et interpretabor.

Profiteor quoque septem esse vere et proprie Sacramenta novae legis, a Iesu Christo Domino Nostro instituta, atque ad salutem humani generis, licet non omnia singulis necessaria, scilicet, Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Poenitentiam, Extremam unctionem, Ordinem, et Matrimonium, illaque gratiam conferre, et ex his Baptismum, Confirmationem et Ordinem sine sacrilegio reiterari non posse.

Receptos quoque et approbatos Ecclesiae Catholicae ritus, in supradictorum omnium Sacramentorum solemnii administratione, recipio et admitto.

Omnia et singula quae de peccato originali et de iustificatione in Sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo definita et declarata fuerunt, amplector et recipio.

Profiteor pariter in Missa offerri Deo verum, proprium et propitiatorium sacrificium pro vivis et defunctis, atque in sanctissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento esse vere, realiter et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem, una cum anima et Divinitate D. N. I. C., fierique conversionem totius substantiae panis in corpus et totius substantiae vini in sanguinem, quam conversionem Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiationem appellat.

Fateor etiam sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum verumque Sacramentum sumi.

Constanter teneo Purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis iuvare.

Similiter et sanctos una cum Christo regnantes venerandos

atque invocandos esse, eosque orationes Deo pro nobis offerre, atque eorum reliquias esse venerandas.

Firmissime assero imagines Christi ac Deiparae semper Virginis, necnon aliorum sanctorum habendas et retinendas esse atque eis debitum honorem ac venerationem impertiendam.

Indulgentiarum etiam potestatem a Christo in Ecclesia relictam fuisse, illarumque usum Christiano populo maxime salutarem esse affirmo.

Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam omnium Ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco, Romanoque Pontifici, B. Petri Apostolorum principis successori ac Iesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac iuro.

Cetera item omnia a sacris Canonibus et oecumenicis Conciliis et praesertim a sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor, simulque contraria omnia atque haereses quascumque ab Ecclesia damnatas reiectas et anathematizatas, ego pariter damno, reicio et anathematizo.

Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in praesenti sponte profiteor et veraciter teneo, eandem integram et immaculatam, usque ad extremum vitae spiritum, constantissime, Deo adiuvante, retinere et confiteri, atque a meis subditis vel illis quorum cura ad me in munere meo spectabit, teneri, doceri et praedicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum, ego idem N. spondeo, voveo, ac iuro.

Sic me Deus adiuvet, et haec sancta Dei Evangelia.

XLI

THE INTERIM OF AUGSBURG

When Luther died, 18 Feb. 1546, the last obstacle to war was removed. The Emperor, allying himself, 19 June, with Maurice, Duke of Saxony, and, 26 June, with the Pope, outlawed, 20 July, the Elector and the Landgrave; and Maurice, cousin of the one and son-in-law of the other, seized his opportunity to rise, by the imperial favour, on the ruin of both. On 27 Oct. the Emperor transferred to him the Saxon Electorate; and a few days later he entered with Ferdinand upon the conquest of his new domain. In 1547 the successive deaths of Henry VIII, 28 Jan., and of Francis I, 31 March, left the Emperor without a rival in Europe; and his victory at Mühlberg, 24 April, laid Germany at his feet. Once more he set himself to compose the religious divisions of Germany. Calling to his aid three divines—an Erasmian, a

mediaevalist, and a Protestant—Julius von Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg 1542–7, Michael Helding, titular Bishop of Sidon, 1538–†61, and suffragan of Mainz, and Johann Agricola, 1494–†66, Court preacher of Brandenburg, he obtained the sanction of the Diet for what he hoped might prove a working compromise in, 15 May 1548, [No. 148] the *Interim of Augsburg* (*Interim, hoc est, constitutio praescribens qua ratione S. I. R. status in negotio Religionis usque ad decisionem Concilii Tridentini sese mutuo gerere ac excipere debeant in nunc habito Augustae conventu XV Maii a C. M. publicata*. Coloniae, Ioannes Quentel excudebat, anno MDXLVIII, mense Iunio, cf. Le Plat, *Mon. Trid.* iv. 32 sqq.). This he endeavoured to enforce. But compromise in religion rarely works; least of all, compromise at the point of the sword. For the further history of the Interim see G. L. Schmidt in *Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie*, xxxviii. (1868) 431 sqq., 461 sqq.; Beutel, *Über den Ursprung des Augsburger Interims*; Pastor, *Reunionsbestrebungen*, c. ix.

No. 148. The Interim Augustanum, 15 May 1548.

Cap. xxvi. *De caeremoniis et usu Sacramentorum.*

1. Caeremoniae veteres quae sacramento Baptismatis adhibentur, retineantur omnes: exorcismus videlicet, abrenunciatio, professio fidei, chrisma et alia. Pertinent enim ad efficaciam huius sacramenti adumbrandam et significandam.

2. Item in caeremoniis veteribus quae ab Ecclesia Catholica adhibentur Missae, nihil mutandum videtur: sunt enim omnes ad id quod in Missa agitur cum primis aptae.

3. Et quod ad usum huius sacri attinet, debent in singulis civitatibus et in singulis ecclesiis (etiamsi in una civitate aut loco plures sint) quae proprios sacerdotes et populi illuc convenientis frequentiam habent, singulis diebus duae ad minimum Missae celebrari: altera matutina, cui interesse possint homines qui labore manuum rem quaerunt ut convenientes vel communicent de Eucharistia vel se Deo pie commendent: altera vero celebrior quae canetur circa horam octavam diei ante-meridianam, cui eodem modo adsint qui vel communicare de Eucharistia vel se Deo commendare velint. In pagis autem singulis quibusque dominicis et festis diebus singulae Missae ad minimum celebrentur.

4. Atque ut populus ad usum Missarum revocetur commode, concionatores iuxta sententiam de hoc sacro superius explicatam populum hortari debent, ut eidem libenter intersit, cui etiam praescribendae sunt certae meditationes eaeque ad singulas Missae partes aptae: et ante praefationem presbyter aut diaconus, si huius copia sit, ostendat verum Missae usum,

eumque populo ex praescripto de quo etiam conveniat, commendet pro ratione de sacro hoc superius explicata.

5. Canon item, in quo nihil mutetur, habeat etiam suam succinctam et dilucidam interpretationem, ut inde presbyteri et functionem officii sui eo melius intelligere et quod intelligunt populo explicare possint.

6. Caeremoniae reliquae sacramentorum, iuxta praescriptum Agendarum veterum, adhibeantur: in quas tamen si quid irrepsit, quod causam dare possit superstitioni, tollatur.

7. Altaria, vestes sacerdotum, vasa ecclesiae, vexilla, item cruces, candelae, imagines, retineantur in ecclesia. Sed ita tamen ut sint monumenta: nec cultus latriae in hoc genus transferatur: nec ad imagines et statuas superstitiose concursus fiat.

8. Horae autem Canonicae, et illa pia psalmodia quam nobis Apostolus ipse commendavit, ex ecclesiis minime tollantur: et ubi sublatae sunt restituantur, maxime vero de tempore et Dominica et aliis vetustis et solemnioribus festis.

9. Quae autem de Sanctis adiecta sunt, ad ea quae in veteri de Sanctis communi posita sunt revocanda: et sicubi modum excedunt, corrigenda videntur.

10. Vigiliae item et exsequiae mortuorum de more veteris Ecclesiae celebrentur: esset enim immane in ecclesia nullam illorum memoriam retinere, quasi animae ipsorum una cum corporibus interierint.

11. Festi item dies ab Ecclesia recepti retineantur, si non omnes tamen praecipui: Dominicae dies, Natalis Domini, Circumcisio Domini, Epiphania, Palmarum, Pascha cum duobus diebus sequentibus, Ascensio Domini, Pentecoste cum duobus diebus sequentibus, Corporis Christi, Festi item dies beatae Mariae virginis et sanctorum Apostolorum, Sancti Ioannis Baptistae, Mariae Magdalenae, Stephani, Laurentii, Martini, Michaelis, Omnium Sanctorum, et apud singulas ecclesias eorum Sanctorum qui ibidem singulares patroni habentur, ut in eisdem Sanctorum festis Deum in Sanctis honoremus, nosque ad imitationem ipsorum excitemur et consideremus orationibus ipsorum adiuvari et meritis associari.

12. Dies item Rogationum ante Ascensionem Domini et Litania in die sancti Marci, et per annum aliae consuetae processiones pro veteri more observentur.

13. Similiter in hebdomada sancta et circa reliqua Ecclesiae festa debitae sollemnitates adhibeantur, et in vigilia Paschae et Pentecostes aqua baptismalis per omnes ecclesias parochiales sollemni benedictione praeparetur.

14. Ac cum abstinencia carniū, quae non abominationis sed temperantiae causa suscipitur, per se bona et ad carnem castigandam apta sit, ac etiam publica utilitas postulet ut certis temporibus a carnibus abstineamus cum alias pecora ad assiduum carniū esum sufficere vix possint, mos et institutum veteris Ecclesiae diebus ieiuniorum, feria sexta et sabbato a carnibus abstinendo, retineatur.

15. Hanc enim abstinenciam Ecclesia ex nulla superstitione suscepit, quae a cibis quibusdam certis temporibus abstinet, non ob ullam ciborum immunditiam, sciens omnia munda esse mundis et nihil inquinare hominem quod per os ingreditur, sed ad edomandam carnem ut anima a pravis cupiditatibus et a malis motibus melius humilietur: eamque abstinenciam praecipue diebus feriae sextae et sabbati indixit, ut homines ad cultum Deo debitum persolvendum, ad auditionem verbi Dei et ad sacrosanctae Eucharistiae perceptionem, quae olim frequentior diebus dominicis servabatur, bi-duana abstinencia praeparati magis idonei et digniores accederent: et ut hac voluntaria castigatione quasi cum Christo (cuius passionis memoria his diebus potissimum a fidelibus recolitur) carnem suam crucifigerent.

16. Consueta etiam Ecclesiae ieiunia observentur, sed ita tamen ut non astringantur quos necessitas excusat: quales sunt qui gravioribus laboribus exhauriuntur, et peregrinantes, item gravidae mulieres, lactantes, pueri, senes, aegroti.

17. Nec improbetur benedictio earum rerum quae exorcismis et orationibus ad usum hominum praeparantur, dummodo operationes quae inde nascuntur non rebus ipsis sed divinae virtuti tribuantur: et caveatur ne eadem ad ullum incantationis aut superstitionis genus transferantur.

18. Et quamquam cum Apostolo sentiendum, eum qui coelebs est curare quae sunt Domini, &c., eoque magis optandum multos inveniri clericos qui cum coelibes sint, vere etiam contineant: tamen quum multi qui ministerii ecclesiastici functiones tenent iam multis in locis duxerint uxores, quas a se dimittere nolint: super ea re generalis Concilii sententia expectetur, cum alioqui mutatio in ea re, ut nunc sunt tempora, sine gravi rerum perturbatione nunc fieri non possit.

19. Illud tamen negandum non est, etsi coniugium per se honorabile est, iuxta Scripturam: cum tamen, qui non ducit uxorem et vere continet, melius facere secundum Scripturam.

20. Eadem est ratio usus Eucharistiae sub utraque specie

cui multi etiam assueverunt et ab eo avelli sine gravi rerum motu hoc tempore non possunt : et quia Concilium Oecumenicum, cui omnes Imperii Status se submiserunt, proculdubio piam et sollicitam curam adhibebit, ut in hoc casu consensientis multorum et publicae tranquillitati optime consulatur, qui usum utriusque speciei antehac receperunt eumque relinquere nolunt, super ea quoque re deliberationem et sententiam Oecumenici Consilii expectent.

21. Hi tamen qui utriusque speciei usum amplectuntur, illam inveteratam sub una speciei communicandi consuetudinem reprehendere non debent : nec alteri alteros perturbent, donec super ea re Concilium Oecumenicum decreverit.

22. Et quanquam Sacramentum Eucharistiae sub utraque specie institutum est, non tamen sentiendum est Christum in carne dividi, contra quam Scriptura divinitus inspirata tradit, sed sub singulis speciebus integrum contineri.

23. Ac quoniam in Sacramento Eucharistiae est verum Christi corpus et verus Christi sanguis, in hoc Sacramento Christum merito adorari debere.

24. Item Sacramentum Eucharistiae semel verbo Christi consecratum, etiam si asservetur diutius, tamen Sacramentum et corpus et sanguinem Christi remanere donec sumatur.

25. Quae vero ad disciplinam cleri et populi pertinent, videntur cum primis necessaria esse ad tollenda ex ecclesiis scandala quae dant magnam causam horum temporum perturbationi, id quod res ipsa loquitur. Itaque si quam ecclesiis utilem reformationem C. M. procuraverit, tantum abest ut quisquam sanctae religionis nostrae et publicae tranquillitatis studiosus repudiare eam velit, ut omnes etiam pro ea citius promovenda et procuranda C. M. obnixè et summa ope laborare debeant.

XLV

THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG

While the Emperor was enforcing the Interim, Germany became doubly aggrieved, (1) at his policy of religious oppression ; (2) at his endeavour to exchange constitutional rule for a Spanish absolutism. Paul III, †10 Nov. 1549, resented his intrusion into things spiritual ; 'Imperatorem,' said the Curia, 'hunc Carolum usurpasse sibi omnem iurisdictionem ecclesiasticam' (Massarelli, *Diarium*, iv [25 June 1548], *ap. Conc. Trid. Diariorum Nova Collectio*, i. 775, ed. Societas Goerresiana). The new Pope, Julius III, 7 Feb. 1550—†23 March 1555, though an imperialist, was alienated by the pressure which the Emperor put on the

Council, now resumed at Trent, 1 May 1551—28 April 1552; Ferdinand by his scheme for diverting the succession to the Empire from the Austrian to the Spanish Hapsburgs; and Maurice by the consciousness that, as he was held responsible for the imprisonment of his relatives, the Elector and the Landgrave, he had his character to redeem in the eyes of Germany. Maurice changed sides again. By the treaty of Chambord, 15 Jan. 1552 (Dumont, *Corps diplomatique*, IV. i. 31 sqq.), which made over to France the three frontier bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, he induced Henry II, 1547–1559, to take the field in Lorraine, March 1552, as ‘Protector of the liberties of Germany and its captive Princes’. Then, 4 April, he seized Augsburg, and compelled the Emperor to take refuge beyond the Alps at Villach in Carinthia. Charles left it to his brother Ferdinand to arrange terms by, 2 Aug. 1552, the Convention of Passau (Dumont, IV. i. 42): and, after three more years of strife, this became the basis of an ambiguous but lasting settlement in, 25 Sept. 1555, the **Peace of Augsburg** (Brandi, *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des xvii^{ten} Jahrhunderts*, iv. No. 671; translated in Emil Reich, *Select Documents illustrating Mediaeval and Modern History*, 230 sqq.). By it Lutheranism obtained legal recognition. True, it was a maimed victory, for territorialism not for toleration. No subject secured religious freedom; no Calvinist recognition. Only a lay Prince of the Empire acquired the right to worship, and make his subjects worship, according to the Confession of Augsburg. By the Ecclesiastical Reservation [§ 18 *infra*], if a Spiritual Prince deserted ‘the old religion’, he forfeited his lands and status. Yet even this limited victory for *Cuius regio, eius religio* was a step gained: the first step on the road to religious liberty.

No. 149. The Peace of Augsburg, 25 Sept. 1555.

§ 15. In order to bring peace into the holy Empire of the Germanic Nation between the Roman Imperial Majesty and the Electors, Princes, and Estates: let neither his Imperial Majesty nor the Electors, Princes, &c., do any violence or harm to any estate of the Empire on account of the Augsburg Confession, but let them enjoy their religious belief, liturgy and ceremonies as well as their estates and other rights and privileges in peace; and complete religious peace shall be obtained only by Christian means of amity, or under threat of the punishment of the imperial ban.

§ 16. Likewise the Estates espousing the Augsburg Confession shall let all the Estates and Princes who cling to the old religion live in absolute peace and in the enjoyment of all their estates, rights and privileges.

§ 17. However, all such as do not belong to the two above-

named religions shall not be included in the present peace but be totally excluded from it.

§ 18. And since it has proved to be matter of great dispute what was to happen with the bishoprics, priories, and other ecclesiastical benefices of such Catholic priests as would in course of time abandon the old religion, we have in virtue of the powers of Roman Emperors ordained as follows: Where an archbishop, bishop or prelate or any other priest of our old religion shall abandon the same, his archbishopric, bishopric, prelacy, and other benefices, together with all their income and revenues which he has so far possessed, shall be abandoned by him without any further objection or delay. The chapters and such as are entitled to it by common law or the custom of the place shall elect a person espousing the old religion, who may enter on the possession and enjoyment of all the rights and incomes of the place without any further hindrance and without prejudging any ultimate amicable settlement of religion.

§ 19. Some of the abbeys, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical estates having been confiscated and turned into churches, schools, and charitable institutions, it is herewith ordained that such estates as their original owners had not possessed at the time of the treaty of Passau shall be comprised in the present treaty of peace.

§ 20. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Augsburg Confession, doctrine, appointment of ministers, church usages, orders, and ceremonies hitherto practised (but apart from all the rights of the Electors, Princes and Estates, Colleges and Monasteries, to taxes in money or tithes) shall from now cease, and the Augsburg Confession shall be left to the free and untrammelled enjoyment of their religion, ceremonies, appointment of ministers, as is stated in a subsequent separate article, until the final settlement of religion shall take place.

§ 23. No Estate shall try to persuade the subjects of other Estates to abandon their religion nor protect them against their own magistrates. Such as had from olden times the rights of patronage are not included in the present article.

§ 24. In case our subjects, whether belonging to the old religion or to the Augsburg Confession, should intend leaving their homes, with their wives and children, in order to settle in another place, they shall neither be hindered in the sale of their estates after due payment of the local taxes nor injured in their honour. . . .

PART II. REFORMED

A. ZWINGLI AND CALVIN

I

SWITZERLAND IN 1513

Switzerland in 1513 was the seat of a Confederation of thirteen cantons.

(i) Geographically, all lay north and west of the line which runs from NE. to SW. and is formed in the one direction by the upper valley of the Rhine, and, in the other, of the Rhone. All too, save Freiburg, were contained in the district bounded by the head-waters of the Rhine and by its tributary the Aar. Thus, twelve belonged to Rhineland and were German-speaking. To the south-west, between the lakes of Neuchâtel and Geneva, lay the thirteenth, Freiburg; and, beyond it, districts opening out towards France and Savoy. They were French-speaking.

(ii) Politically, the Confederation arose out of conflict with the House of Hapsburg; and began, 1 Aug. 1291, with a league of three cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden (Oechsli, *Quellenbuch zur Schweizergeschichte*², i. No. 21). These were permanently united, 9 Dec. 1315, in the league of the Three Forest Cantons (*ibid.*, No. 30). By the admission, 7 Nov. 1332, of Luzern (*ibid.*, No. 34), they became four, round the Vierwaldstättersee; and by the addition, 27 June 1352, of Zug (*ibid.*, No. 43), the Five Forest Cantons. The five were presently increased to eight, when they extended their alliance, 4 June 1352, to Glarus (*ibid.*, No. 41), and the two Imperial Cities of, 1 May 1351, Zürich (*ibid.*, No. 39), and, 6 March 1353, Bern (*ibid.*, No. 44). The Confederation, famous already for the victories by which it had vindicated its independence, increased its membership by, 22 Dec. 1481, treaty with Freiburg and Solothurn (*ibid.*, No. 82), and its military reputation by conquests: till, after the inclusion, 9 June 1501, of a third Imperial City, Basel (*ibid.*, No. 99), and, 10 Aug. 1501, of Schaffhausen (*ibid.*, No. 102), the Confederates were honoured, 5 July 1512, by a bull of Julius II (*ibid.*, No. 106) with the title *Defensores ecclesiasticæ libertatis*, and courted by the great powers of Europe as, 11 Aug. 1512, at [No. 150] the Diet of Baden (*ibid.*¹, No. 106). Next year, 17 Dec. 1513, by [No. 151] the League with Appenzell (*ibid.*², No. 109), the Confederation reached the limit at which it remained for three hundred years, of thirteen cantons—practically, though not technically, free of the Empire. This freedom had much to do with the rapid growth of movements for reform in Switzerland by contrast with their slower progress in Germany.

No. 150. The Diet of Baden, 11 Aug. 1512.

(a) At this Diet appeared the Bailiff of Lorraine, and in the name of the Duke informed them as follows :—It was rumoured that certain of the Confederates were marching through his territory upon the King of France, and that the Duke had given them his permission to pass through. The latter statement was incorrect ; the passage had taken place without his knowledge and consent ; and no sooner had he received information of it than he had issued strict orders forbidding such passage ; and in the case of some of his own subjects, who notwithstanding were bent upon marching towards France, had had them arrested and was about to punish them. He entreated the Confederation to have him excused, and to believe that he was in no way desirous of setting himself against them. Further, it was rumoured that his brother was with the King of France. That was true. At the apportionment of the Duchy, that portion had fallen to his brother which was under vassalage to the King of France. He could not therefore avoid his obligations of fealty ; and this the Duke begged the Confederation to bear in mind.

(b) The Pope bestowed upon the Honourable Confederation, in consideration of their good and true services, complimentary gifts of sword, hat, and two banners. Next day, it was to be decided where these presents were to be kept for the benefit of the Confederation as a whole.

(c) To-day appeared an embassy from the King of Spain with a request that the Confederation would make alliance with the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Doge of Venice,¹ and conclude the same either in perpetuity or, failing this, for three years, or for so long as the alliance between the three should continue. Would the Confederation also use its influence to make up the quarrel between the Emperor and Venice, so that then all five states might enter into a common unity and alliance ? It would be well to take this matter in hand at once ; for the King of Spain was keeping his troops in the field at such heavy outlay as would soon become intolerable.

(d) Then there appeared, as ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, the Dean of Colmar, who requested that the setting up of a league between the Confederation and the Duke might be hastened. He defended the Duke against the charge, that he was against us as a dependant of the King of France and

¹ The Holy League of 5 Oct. 1511.

was rendering him assistance, by a further request that if we would only allow him to negotiate a peace between the King and us, it could be done with goodwill and good faith. An answer is to be given to-morrow.

(e) The ambassador of Savoy also drew attention amongst other things to the fact that the Cardinal of Sitten lay with the Papal troops in Savoy, a thing which could not happen without damage to the poor people. At his request, letters were sent to the Cardinal requiring that he should withdraw and provision his troops elsewhere, and that those passing through Savoy should make due payment and the people receive no damage; for the Duke had already paid us a considerable sum of money and had still to pay more. If then any damage came to his subjects, it would be impossible for him to fulfil his obligations. The envoys, who were on their way to the Cardinal about ordnance, were also to make these representations by word of mouth.

(f) A proposal was also introduced about the Fair of Lyons, how to transfer it thence to Geneva. As great profits were expected therefrom, advice was taken about it with the Emperor's ambassadors. They undertook to bring the matter before His Imperial Majesty, in the hope of a gracious answer on his part. The Spanish and Milanese ambassadors, who were also consulted in this case, were favourable to the scheme.

(g) The Imperial ambassadors requested that we would 'sit down with them and make plans for a campaign against Burgundy', and would also maintain a loyal regard for his Imperial Majesty. Answer was made to them that for the present we were too busy with other concerns and had no authority for this; but that we would take their request home and make answer at the next Diet.

(h) 'Whereas upon the conquest of the Duchy of Milan, this Diet was appointed here in the town of Baden to advise and resolve in what manner the young Duke of Milan should be installed in the Dukedom in accordance with certain proposals and conferences which took place at a former Diet in that behalf; and whereas at this Diet here in Baden there have appeared their Excellencies the Imperial Ambassadors and their Worshipships the Envoys of the Duchy of Milan, and much advice has been taken in regard to the installation of Duke Maximilian¹; certain articles have at last been drawn up, notice of the same has been given on either side, and

¹ Maximilian Sforza, installed by the Swiss, 29 Dec. 1512.

each envoy has received a copy of the articles aforesaid to bring the same before his Sovereign and Lord, to advise thereon, and at the Diet appointed to be held again here in Baden at the inn on the Sunday after St. Verena's day next [5 Sept.] in the evening, finally to answer and conclude the matter, seeing that as the ambassadors are of opinion the business may brook no further delay.—Resolved, to bring up, at the Diet appointed, all instruments, new and old, hitherto occurring between the Dukes of Milan and our Confederation, so that they may be looked into and a conclusion come to as to what seems most suitable for present relations.'

(j) An embassy from the Signory of Venice applied for a league with us. We answered that we were in alliance with his Imperial Majesty; and that since he and Venice had some differences with each other, we could not, till these were settled, enter into an alliance with Venice. But we offered our mediation, and the Imperial Ambassadors undertook to bring this offer to the notice of their Master, and to give us a reply at the next Diet. The Venetian envoys might therefore report our intention to their Signory; and, as soon as we had the consent of both parties, we would with all speed get to work. Should the attempt succeed, Venice might obtain a reply in terms favourable to the alliance.

No. 151. The League with Appenzell, 17 Dec. 1513.

With unimportant differences follows, almost word for word, the League with Schaffhausen. It opens with the mention, as contracting parties, of:—

'We, the Burgomasters, Bailiffs, Magistrates, Councillors, Burgesses, People and whole Communes [Gemeinden] of Zürich, Bern, Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden above and below the Forest, Zug with the outer district thereto belonging, Glarus, Basel, Freiburg, Solothurn, and Schaffhausen on the one part: and we, the High Bailiff, Council, People and whole Commune of Appenzell on the other . . .'

In the article defining the assistance to be rendered, the liabilities of the Confederation are limited, in the case of the Appenzellers, by the following supplement:—

'And though [the Confederation] shall be under no obligation to render us [Appenzellers] any assistance but within the borders of our own territory, they shall do that gladly.'

II

THE SWISS AT HOME, c. 1513

The Swiss, according to Machiavelli, 1469-†1527, were in his day 'the most thoroughly armed and the freest of nations' (*Il Principe*, c. xii), and 'the teachers of the modern art of war' (*Discorsi*, II, c. xvi). But [No. 152] their military reputation abroad, to which the German Humanist Pirckheimer, 1470-†1530, bears witness (*Historia Belli Suitensis*, Lib. i; *Opera*, 73, Francoforti, 1610), was paid dearly for at home. First, by demoralization, consequent upon mercenary service. This the Diet of 21 July 1503 tried to check by [No. 153] a prohibition of pensions (Oechsli, *op. cit.*, No. 103, 1st ed. 1886), but without success: for after the Swiss defeat, 13-14 Sept. 1515, at Marignano, and, 29 Nov. 1516, their [No. 154] Perpetual Treaty with France (Dumont, *Corps diplomatique*, IV. i. 249: Oechsli, i. No. 112, 2nd ed. 1901), French gold began to flood the country. Secondly, by faction. This was invited, rather than remedied, according to Guicciardini, 1482-†1540, by the looseness of [No. 155] the Federal Constitution, anno 1511 (*The Historie of Guicciardin reduced into English* by Geffray Fenton [London, 1618], lib. x. 398 sq.), and increased by the equally disjointed ecclesiastical arrangements. The territories connected with the Confederation, including its 'allied' and 'subject' districts (cf. R. Lane-Poole, *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, Map xlv), lay in eight dioceses, distributed among five provinces and one patriarchate:—the Vallais belonging to Sitten [Sion] (Prov. Tarantaise, but, after 1513, immediately dependent on the Pope); the Grisons to Chur [Coire] (Prov. Mainz); the Italian districts to Como [Patr. Aquileia] and the archiepiscopal see of Milan; Basel [Prov. Besançon], and Geneva [Prov. Vienne] each to its own bishop; and the rest falling, on the left bank of the Aar, to Lausanne [Prov. Besançon], and on its right bank to Constance [Prov. Mainz] whose bishop, Hugo von Hohenlandenberg, 1496-1529 and 1531-42, thus ruled over the larger part of the Confederation and had both Zürich and Bern within his jurisdiction. As to morals, the level of lay opinion may be fairly gauged from the attitude, 13 March 1520, of [No. 156] the Diet in the case of Heinrich Göldli (Oechsli, *op. cit.*² ii, No. 159, tr. S. M. Jackson, *Zwingli*, 29), a Zürich citizen, member of the papal guard and dealer in preferments whose claims on Glarus Zwingli had to buy off before he could enter on the living (Ep. xlvii, *Opera*, vii. 237, edd. Schuler and Schultess); while the admissions of [No. 157] Conrad Hofmann, Canon of Zürich, in his 'Complaint against Zwingli' prepared for the Provost and Chapter of the Great Minster, Dec. 1521 (Egli, *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation*, 1519-33, No. 213, p. 62), are as serious a reflection on the lives of the clergy as was Zwingli's own record (see below, No. 178).

No. 152. The military reputation of the Swiss.

Hinc¹ discordiarum, motuum, ac bellorum initia emersere, quae in praesentem usque diem tam Burgundi quam Galli successores,² quasi haereditario iure, diversimode exagitarunt. Helvetii interim a bellico quievere tumultu. Nulla enim potentia tanta erat quae illos post oppressum Burgundum lacerare auderet. Submittebant tamen identidem, nunc Maximiliano, nunc Gallo petenti auxilia; non ideo tantum quod iuventutem in militari disciplina exercere cuperent, sed quia utrumque timerent seu potius odio haberent, ac utriusque partis successus illis foret suspectus. Et profecto omnes Germani arma et eam militandi disciplinam qua nunc utuntur ab Helvetiis acceperunt, abiectis scutis quibus antea omnium nationum more utebantur. Experientia enim disciebant illa haudquaquam phalangi et hastarum violentiae resistere posse. Ac ideo ad meam usque aetatem sarissas, bipennes et gladios ferentes Helvetii dicti sunt, etiamsi in media Germania essent nati; quoad tandem ob Helvetiorum odium et perfidiam provincialium militum nomen, hoc est, Landesknecht, emergere et celebre esse coepit.

No. 153. Prohibition of Pensions, 21 July 1503.

That no one in the Confederation, be he burgher countryman or subject, spiritual person or layman, of the nobles or the commons, rich or poor, of what rank or condition soever, shall from this day forward have or receive from emperors, kings, princes, lords or cities, from powers spiritual or temporal, or from any one whomsoever, any pension, service-money, provision, allowance, salary, gift or present, whether directly or through his wife, children, friends, servants or others, so that it should in any way come to his own use, whether secretly or openly. . . .

No. 154. The Perpetual Treaty with France,³ 29 Nov. 1516.

Dixièmement, pour singuliere et parfaite amitié que nous le dit Seigneur Roi [François I] portons ausdits Sieurs des

¹ In consequence of the Burgundian Wars, which came to an end in favour of Louis XI, by the victory of the Swiss at Nancy, 5 Jan. 1477, over Charles the Bold.

² Charles V and Francis I.

³ The treaty was renewed, but with the omission of Zürich, 5 May 1521. Cf. Oechsli,² i. No. 112.



SEPT 75



N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA

